

A HISTORY OF
SOUTH AFRICA

BY
D. FAIRBRIDGE



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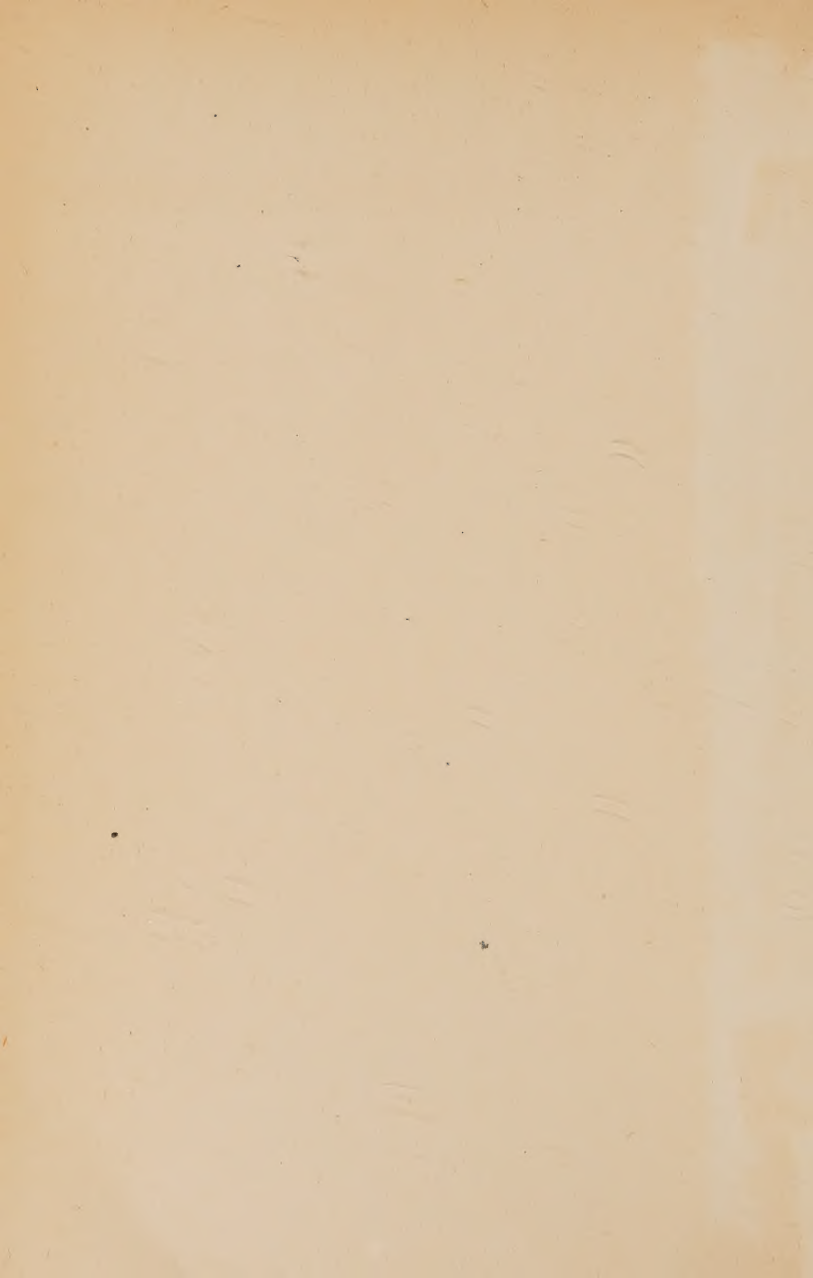
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A HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

BY

DOROTHEA FAIRBRIDGE



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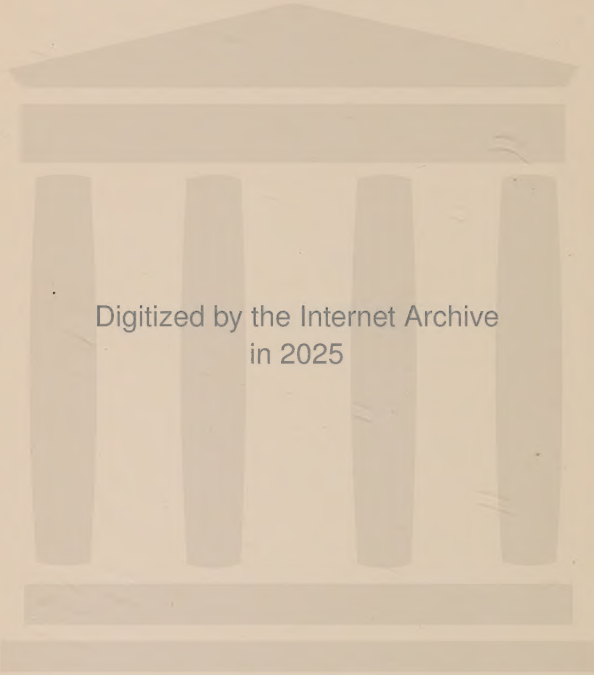
TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY

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1918

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TO
R. F. C.



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PREFACE

SINCE the passing of the Act of Union which welded into one country the four South African States, great events have shaken the world to its foundations. In the clash of arms the Youngest of the Nations has been called to bear her part, not only in standing shoulder to shoulder with her sister states of the Empire on the battle-fields of Europe, but in dealing with that Empire's enemies at her own gates.

German South-West Africa is to-day the South-Western Protectorate, brought under the British flag by South African troops led by General Botha. In German East Africa General Smuts has achieved great success at the head of troops drawn from England, India, and South Africa. Side by side the men of South Africa have fought and died, and not one of them has paused to say to his neighbour, 'Are you English or Dutch?' for all alike have fought for the honour of the land in which they have a common heritage.

Far away, under the withered trees of Delville Wood, and in many another spot in France and Flanders, sleep the men of South Africa who have given their lives to uphold the great ideals of liberty and justice, the men whose fathers fought each other at Magersfontein and Diamond Hill, whose ancestors came from that France and Flanders in which their sons have died, or from the Motherland in the North Sea.

The history of South Africa up to the Union is but the prelude to the great events in which she has been called to play her part almost before the ink was dry upon the charter which has bound in one her people, be they of British, Dutch, French, or any other ancestry. Her future lies in the hands of her children. It is due to her that they should know what has gone to the making of her past, in order that that future may be firmly built on knowledge, equity, and a common love for the land and loyalty to the Empire of which it is a part.

D. F.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I. BEFORE THE DAWN

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| The Glacial Epoch. Early plant life. Prehistoric animals. | |
| Palaeoliths. Early South African craftsmen. Prehistoric man | 1 |

CHAPTER II. THE EARLY INHABITANTS

| | |
|---|---|
| The Bushman. The Hottentot. The Bantu. Uncivilized South Africa | 7 |
|---|---|

CHAPTER III. THE GREAT ADVENTURERS

| | |
|--|----|
| Pharaoh Necho's expedition. Prince Henry the Navigator. Madeira. Death of Prince Henry. Bartholomeu Diaz. The Cape of Good Hope. Vasco da Gama. Antonio de Saldanha. Dom Francisco d'Almeida. Portugal followed by England and Holland. Sir Francis Drake. The decay of Portugal . . . | 15 |
|--|----|

CHAPTER IV. THE HALF-WAY HOUSE

| | |
|---|----|
| Sir James Lancaster. The English East India Company. The Dutch Company. The French Companies. John Jourdain. An experiment. Shillinge and Fitzherbert. Post-office stones. The half-way stations. Wreck of the <i>Haarlem</i> . The Company's decision. Van Riebeeck. The Fort. The Garden. Extension of the settlement. Expedition inland. Departure of Van Riebeeck | 26 |
|---|----|

CHAPTER V

THE EXPANSION OF THE SETTLEMENT

| | |
|--|----|
| The Castle of the Cape of Good Hope. The early Dutch Commanders. Simon van der Stel. Old Cape Town. The foundation of Stellenbosch. The Reformation in France. The Huguenots. The Edict of Nantes. Its revocation. Huguenot refugees. Their arrival at the Cape. The French language | 41 |
|--|----|

CHAPTER VI. AN ERA OF PROSPERITY

PAGE

| | |
|---|----|
| Simon van der Stel's administration. Père Tachard. The Lord of Mydrecht. Progress of the garden. The slaves. The Council of Policy. Drakenstein. Journey to Namaqualand. The Orange River. Old Cape architecture. Willem Adriaan van der Stel. False Bay. The Land of Waveren. Charges against the Governor. His recall | 53 |
|---|----|

CHAPTER VII

THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

| | |
|--|----|
| The Company's policy. Discord. Van Assenburgh. Fire at Stellenbosch. Death of van Assenburgh. Willem Helot. Small-pox. De Chavonnes. The slavery debate. Delagoa Bay. Governor Noodt. The weakening of the Company | 66 |
|--|----|

CHAPTER VIII

THE GOVERNMENTS OF SWELLENGREBEL AND TULBAGH

| | |
|--|----|
| Swellengrebel. A lady of quality. Furniture. Church at Waveren. The Lutherans. The Moravian mission. Baron van Imhoff. Simonstown. Ryk Tulbagh. The Abbé de la Caille. Small-pox again. The Lutheran church. Pracht en Praal regulations. Nicolaas van Dessin. Andrew Sparrman. Death of Tulbagh | 75 |
|--|----|

CHAPTER IX. THE EASTWARD EXPANSION

| | |
|---|----|
| The wander-fever. Swellendam. The trek-Boer. The Boschberg. Van Plettenberg's journey. Charges against the Governor and Fiscal. War between England and the Netherlands | 89 |
|---|----|

CHAPTER X. 1781-1785

| | |
|---|----|
| Preparations for defence. Commodore Johnstone sails. Fight with Suffren's fleet. Capture of Dutch ships. Le Vaillant. First Kaffir War. Wreck of the <i>Grosvenor</i> . Woltemaade. Van de Graaff | 99 |
|---|----|

CHAPTER XI

THE CLOSE OF THE COMPANY'S ADMINISTRATION

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| 1785. Graaff Reinet founded. The frontier. Extravagance. | |
| Nederburgh and Frikenius. Taxes. Trouble on the frontier | 107 |

CHAPTER XII

THE TAKING OF THE CAPE BY ENGLAND

| | |
|---|-----|
| Effects of the French Revolution. Flight of the Prince of Orange. Sluysken. Unrest at Graaff Reinet. Arrival of the British fleet. Battle of Muizenberg. Capitulation. The terms. The British flag hoisted. Colonel Gordon. | 117 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XIII. THE FIRST BRITISH OCCUPATION

| | |
|--|-----|
| The last of the Company's flag. Jacobinism. Craig. Position at Graaff Reinet. Rebellion. Capture of Dutch fleet. Two points of view. Lord Macartney. Lady Anne Barnard. Sir John Barrow. Lord Macartney resigns. Fresh rebellion. Surrender. The Third Kaffir War. A patched-up peace. Sir George Yonge. Maynier's difficulties. The London Missionary Society. Recall of Sir George Yonge. The Cape restored to the Batavian Republic | 129 |
|--|-----|

CHAPTER XIV

THE CAPE UNDER THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC

| | |
|---|-----|
| Arrival of Janssens and de Mist. The Cape given over. Janssens proceeds to the border. The Hottentots. The Kaffirs. War between England and France. The causes. The danger from France. Preparations to hold the Cape. De Mist's journey. Uitenhage. Grant of arms to Cape Town. Useful measures. Education. Departure of de Mist | 143 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XV

THE SECOND COMING OF THE ENGLISH

| | |
|---|-----|
| The warning. Arrival of the English Squadron. The battle of Blaauwberg. The Waldeck Regiment. The Capitulation. Departure of Janssens. Sir David Baird. Sir Home Popham. Recall of Baird. | 153 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XVI

THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

PAGE

| | |
|---|-----|
| Lord Caledon. Andries Stockenstrom. Hintsä. Gaika. Ndhambi. Bethelsdorp. George. Mauritius. Sir John Cradock. The Fourth Kaffir War. The problems of the frontier. Grahamstown founded. The first Circuit Court. Colonel Cuyler | 165 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XVII. 1814-1820

| | |
|--|-----|
| Lord Charles Somerset. Slachter's Nek. The frontier. Unrest on the frontier. Makana. Fifth Kaffir War. Fight at Grahamstown. A new boundary. Sir Rufane Donkin . . . | 177 |
|--|-----|

CHAPTER XVIII. 1820-1834

| | |
|--|-----|
| The 1820 settlers. Resignation of Lord Charles Somerset. Colonel Bird. The liberty of the Press. Supreme Court established. 'Ordinance No. 50.' Sir Lowry Cole . . . | 187 |
|--|-----|

CHAPTER XIX. 1834-1846

| | |
|---|-----|
| Sir Benjamin D'Urban. Emancipation of the slaves. The Sixth Kaffir War. Sir Harry Smith's ride to Grahamstown. Death of Hintsä. The Glenelg policy. Sir Benjamin D'Urban recalled. The Great Trek. The Treaty States. Sir Peregrine Maitland. The War of the Axe. Sir Henry Pottinger . . . | 199 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XX. THE STORY OF NATAL

| | |
|---|-----|
| Early history. Chaka. Rise of the Zulu nation. Moselekatse. The Matabele. The Fingoes. The English in Natal. Durban founded | 212 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XXI. THE VOORTREKKERS

| | |
|---|-----|
| The wandering Boers. Hendrik Potgieter. Winburg founded. Piet Retief. Maritz. Retief in Natal. Dingaan. The murder of Retief's party. Weenen. Dirk Uys. Andries Pretorius. Battle of Blood River. Dingaan's Day. Sir George Napier's proclamation. Lord Glenelg again. The Boers claim Natal. The Glenelg policy reversed. Dick King's ride. Natal a British Colony | 221 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XXII

THE FOUNDING OF THE BOER REPUBLICS

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| The British at Maritzburg. British Sovereignty proclaimed over the Orange River Territory. Battle of Boomplaats. The Zand River Convention. Great Britain abandons the Orange River Sovereignty. President Hoffman | 230 |

CHAPTER XXIII. 1847-1861

| | |
|--|-----|
| Sir Harry Smith. British Kaffraria. The anti-convict agitation. The Eighth Kaffir War. The First Basuto War. Sir Harry Smith recalled. The <i>Birkenhead</i> . Sir George Cathcart. Sir George Grey. Nongkause, the false prophetess. The Kaffir tragedy. The South African Republic. A raid on the Orange Free State. Sir George Grey and federation. Recall of Sir George Grey. His reinstatement. His departure | 236 |
|--|-----|

CHAPTER XXIV

FROM 1865 TO THE RETROCESSION

| | |
|---|-----|
| The Basuto War. Basutoland annexed. The first diamond. The Star of Africa. Griqualand West. The Keate award. Responsible government. Lord Carnarvon and federation. The Zulu danger. The Transvaal annexed. Sir Bartle Frere. Ninth Kaffir War. The Zulu War. Isandhlwana. Rorke's Drift. Ulundi. Recall of Sir Bartle Frere. Bronkhorst Spruit. Majuba. Death of Sir George Colley. The retrocession | 249 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XXV. THE NEW INFLUENCES

| | |
|---|-----|
| Germany in South-West Africa. Portugal's ownership of Delagoa Bay. Cecil Rhodes. The Afrikaner Bond. Jan Hofmeyr. Bechuanaland. The British Chartered Company. Discovery of gold. Paul Kruger | 261 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XXVI

THE UITLANDERS AND THE JAMESON RAID

| | |
|---|-----|
| The Uitlanders. The Netherlands Railway Company. The Transvaal National Union. The Closing of the Drifts. Germany. The Jameson Raid. Lord Milner arrives. The Bloemfontein Conference. The Ultimatum. War | 275 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XXVII. THE WAR

PAGE

| | |
|---|-----|
| Boer attack on armoured train. Kimberley and Mafeking invested. Talana Hill. Elandslaagte. Nicholson's Nek. Ladysmith besieged. The Rebellion in the Cape. Belmont and Enslin. Disaster at Stormberg. Magersfontein. Colenso. Caesar's Camp. Lord Roberts arrives. Spion Kop. Ladysmith relieved. Relief of Kimberley. Paardeberg. Bloemfontein occupied by British. Sannah's Post. Death of General Joubert. Relief of Mafeking. The Transvaal annexed. Guerrilla warfare. The Blockhouses. Concentration Camps. Schools in the Camps. The 'drives'. Peace negotiations. Conference at Vereeniging. Peace. Death of Cecil Rhodes. His will | 288 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XXVIII

PEACE AND THE RECONSTRUCTION

| | |
|---|-----|
| Terms of Peace. The reconstruction. Chinese labour. Death of President Kruger. The Lyttelton Constitution. Lord Selborne. Self-government | 299 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XXIX. THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

| | |
|--|-----|
| Progress towards union. The first step. Lord Selborne's memorandum. Jan Hofmeyr's views. Inter-colonial Conference. The National Convention. The Act of Union. Death of Mr. Hofmeyr. The first Governor-General of the Union. General Botha as Premier | 307 |
|--|-----|

*The Illustrations are for the most part from old prints
photographed by Arthur Elliott, Cape Town.*

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

| | PAGE |
|---|---------------------|
| Vasco da Gama | <i>Frontispiece</i> |
| Africa. Physical | 3 |
| Bushman Painting (by permission of Miss M. H. Tongue) | 8 |
| Prince Henry the Navigator | 17 |
| Map to illustrate the Age of Discovery | 20 |
| Map of Africa. c. 1600 | 27 |
| Post-office Stone | 31 |
| East India Company's House at Amsterdam | 33 |
| Johan Van Riebeeck | 34 |
| Arrival of the Company's Fleet | 36 |
| The Old Dutch Reformed Church | 38 |
| Entrance to the Castle | 42 |
| The Castle Gateway | 54 |
| Groot Constantia | 58 |
| The Kat at the Castle | 59 |
| The Koopmans—de Wet House | 68 |
| Baron van Imhoff | 80 |
| The Lutheran Church | 85 |
| South Africa. Surface Relief | 88 |
| Early Church at Swellendam | 90 |
| The Drostdy at Graaff Reinet | 109 |
| Elphinstone | 120 |
| Lord Macartney | 134 |
| Fort Frederick at Algoa Bay | 141 |
| General Janssens | 143 |
| Commissary-General de Mist | 148 |
| Sir David Baird | 154 |
| The Taking of the Cape | 155 |
| South Africa in 1806 | 161 |
| South Africa. Vegetation | 169 |
| Guard House, Grahamstown | 173 |
| Lord Charles Somerset | 177 |
| Thomas Pringle | 194 |
| Sir Harry Smith and Hintsu | 202 |
| The Great Trek | 206 |

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| A Boer Camp | 207 |
| Moshesh | 209 |
| English Camp at Durban | 219 |
| Pretorius | 226 |
| Sir Harry Smith | 236 |
| Sir George Grey | 244 |
| Cetewayo | 253 |
| Cecil Rhodes (Photograph by Elliott & Fry) | 264 |
| Soapstone Bird from Great Zimbabwe | 267 |
| South Africa | 269 |
| The Victoria Falls | 271 |
| President Kruger (Photograph by Elliott & Fry) | 276 |
| Dr. Jameson (Photograph by Elliott & Fry) | 281 |
| Lord Milner (Photograph by Elliott & Fry) | 285 |
| General Smuts (Photograph by J. Russell & Sons) | 292 |
| Groote Schuur | 306 |
| Union of South Africa | 309 |
| General Botha | 310 |

CHAPTER I

BEFORE THE DAWN

WHEN we look at the solid wall of Table Mountain which rises behind Cape Town it is difficult to realize that once the open sea spread over what is now the southern part of the Cape Province. The Great Karoo was a lake in those days, untold ages before the presence of man on the earth, and there was a time when northern South Africa lay under a sheet of ice. No living creature moved across the cold, bare expanse; all was lifeless and barren. This condition of things was during part of the Carboniferous or coal-producing age, and was not contemporary with the Glacial epoch in Europe, which occurred many ages later in the history of the world.

The
Glacial
epoch.

The mills of God which grind slowly were at work, however, beneath the seemingly dead, inert surface. Little by little the ice slipped away in the direction of the South Pole, leaving exposed wide surfaces of rock. The older underlying rocks present evidence of this period of glaciation in the striation or scratches, which lie in a manner which shows the southward movement of the ice. At this time, and for long afterwards, there were no human beings on the earth, but there were strange marine creatures in the sea, as we know from the fossil remains which are found in such parts of the earth as were once under the ocean, and have since risen. Plant life had existed from a still earlier period.

Early
plant life.

Fossil ferns and leaves have been found in very early geological formations, amongst them leaves of cycads identical with those varieties which are known to us to-day, while parts of South Africa were once covered with dense forests which are now buried deep beneath the surface in the form of coal.

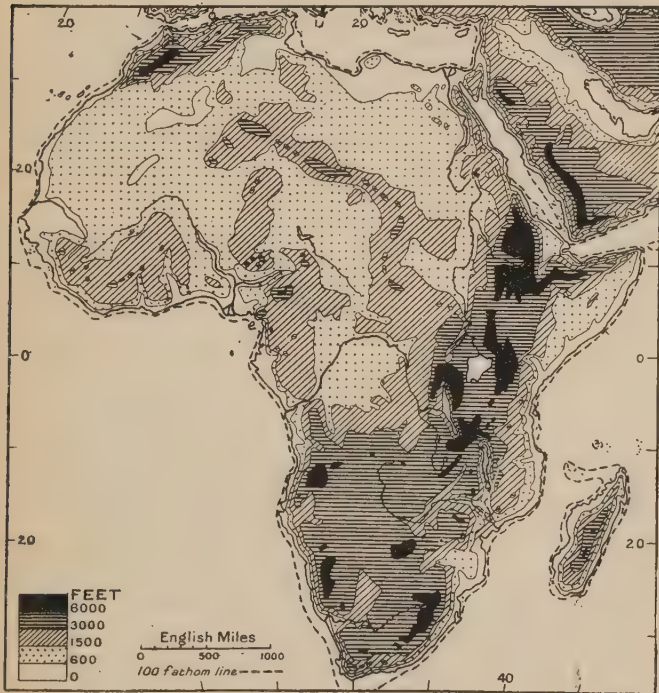
Pre-
historic
animals.

Following on the marine creatures came strange amphibious animals—the Labyrinthodonts, as they are called—and they, in their turn, were followed by remarkable reptiles. One of these, the *Pareiasaurus*, measured four feet in height and eight feet in length; he was a sluggish, slow-moving animal, and his remains are to be seen in the South African Museum in Cape Town. The *Pareiasaurus* lived on grass and herbage, but carnivorous animals existed during the same period, varying in dimensions from the size of a rabbit to that of a buffalo. Lizards abounded, many of them being of great size, and the fossil remains of long-legged, swift-moving crocodiles have been discovered.

We have not only to picture to ourselves South Africa as it must have looked when much that is now dry land was water, and much that is water was dry land, but we must realize that these strange creatures were once its only inhabitants. Man had not yet appeared on the earth. In the bed of the Modder River has been found the head of an extinct mammoth buffalo, *Bubalis baini*, which measures eight feet six and a half inches between the tips of the horns. This animal belonged to a later period than the reptiles which have been mentioned—the period immediately preceding the arrival of man.

Before the ice period and throughout the successive ages mysterious forces were at work, shaping and moulding the land. Slowly but surely the mills of God were grinding the world into the form in which we see it.

Little by little life was developing. Deep down, among the seeming chaos of molten rocks and lava streams, lay minerals and precious stones, the gold and copper and diamonds which are the wealth of South Africa to-day, and these were being forced upward by various agencies.



AFRICA. PHYSICAL

Fire, water, wind, all shared in the work of creation, each in its appointed place strove and laboured. Hidden fires forced up great mountain ranges, many of them now cut into flat table-tops; rain and streams carved out the valleys; all the winds of heaven

heaped up the beaches and levelled the desert sands. Far beneath the crust of the earth the forests of the far-off ages turned slowly into coal. Plains and hills, river-beds and lakes gradually assumed the forms in which we see them to-day, and so, in the fullness of time, South Africa was born.

There is conclusive evidence that the land was peopled by a very ancient race during what is known as the Stone Age. This, which is divided into the Palaeolithic or old stone period and the Neolithic or new stone period, preceded the Iron Age—South Africa passed from the one to the other without the Bronze Age which intervenes in Europe.

Palaeo-
liths.

Throughout the country are found almond-shaped implements of stone, sharply pointed and flaked to a uniform outline. Similar implements are found buried in early deposits almost everywhere in the world—Australia is an exception—and their great age is indicated by the antiquity of the geological formations in which they are embedded. Some people think it improbable that prehistoric man everywhere was inspired at the same moment to chip fragments of stone into pointed implements, and consider it more likely that the man who made the first South African ‘palaeoliths’, as these stones are called, and handed the art down to his children, had seen other men making them elsewhere. Therefore we cannot assume that even these remote and little known artists were the original South Africans. It is possible that they migrated south from some land in which other people were chipping stones into pointed wedges and using them as weapons or domestic implements, and an older race may have occupied the land before them.

But though we know little of prehistoric South African

man, it is indicated by his workmanship that he was a craftsman of very fair development, as craftsmen went in prehistoric days. In the Museum at Cape Town are to be seen other stone implements which testify to his mastery over the poor materials at his command. They have been found in caves and kitchen-middens—the household débris of early man. It is fortunate for us that there were no prehistoric scavengers. What was no longer needed was thrown out on to the rubbish heap, and these rubbish heaps of a bygone age are being patiently turned over by scientific men to-day and yield treasures of ancient household implements. Bone bodkins and pointed arrow-tips have been found and a few bone knives. The bodkins were used for stitching together the skins of wild animals which primitive man wore as a protection against the cold, as the South African native wears them to this day. Beads in great quantities are found, some made of earthenware perforated by a reed, others cut out of ostrich eggshells. Throughout South Africa and as far north as the Soudan perforated stones of the Neolithic period exist, heavy stones which were used to weight digging-sticks and as club heads. Similar stones were used by the Bushmen up to recent times. Pottery of the Stone Age has been found, primitive pots of an elongated shape with pierced ear-pieces for handles. There is abundant proof that early South African man was no mean workman.

The Stone Age, as we know, was followed by the Iron Age, but of the men who lived and wrought through the successive ages we know little. The Bushman is the first human being of whose presence in South Africa we have proof, up to the present, though evidence of earlier man may at any time be forthcoming, and the Strandlooper is the earliest Bushman of whom we have

Early
South
African
crafts-
men.

Pre-
historic
man.

any tangible remains. Driven southward by the impulse which in remote ages moved men to migrate from one region to another, his progress was only barred by the sea-shore. Here he lived in caves and under the shelter of rocks, his food mussels and shell-fish, and here his skeleton has been found buried in the sands and in caverns, wreathed with bead necklaces and weighted down with round flat stones on which rough pictures are sometimes painted.

Countless ages had passed since his ancestor came to the land—a land which we should find it difficult to recognize to-day. Strange beasts, strange birds, strange plants, lakes where now are dry plains—we cannot even picture it to ourselves, still less can we imagine what manner of man it was who dwelt in it, what his thoughts, his life, his hopes and fears. But year by year new scientific discoveries draw back the veil from the remote, mysterious past. Little by little primitive man and the world in which he dwelt are being revealed to us. Where once all lay under the cloud of ignorance, God's hand-maiden Science is revealing to us the dignity and wonder of His earth. Out of chaos and lifelessness have come the good land and the wide seas, the fruitful fields and the flower-strewn plains.

‘With increased knowledge’, says Charles Kingsley, ‘has come increased reverence, increased fear of rash assertions, increased awe of facts as the acted words and thoughts of God.’

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY INHABITANTS

THE first South African people of whom we have any historic record are the Bushmen, a pygmy race of hunters, almost extinct to-day. Where they came from, or whether they were the *primaeval* inhabitants is not absolutely known, though many theories have been advanced. One of the most interesting of these is the theory put forward by Monsieur de Quatrefages, a French anthropologist, who thinks that a race of pygmy people came in the first instance from southern Asia, whence one stream poured eastward until it reached Japan, while another made its way westward into Africa. The African stream, it has been suggested, divided in two, one half going southward and the other half northward as far as the south of Spain. The Bushman.

In any case it is clear that the Bushmen once occupied a very large portion of the southern half of Africa, as their cave-paintings are found scattered over a wide area between the Cape and the Zambesi. These paintings show a remarkable resemblance to those which have been found on the walls of caves in southern Spain and which recent investigations have shown to be the work of men of the late Palaeolithic period. In both cases hunting scenes are depicted again and again, and it is interesting to find antelopes depicted in the Spanish pictures, as in those of the South African caves. Of even greater interest are various painted signs, some in

the form of a forked twig, others resembling a broken rake, which have been found on the walls of a cave near Clocolan in the Orange Free State ; precisely similar signs having been discovered by the Abbé Henri Breuil on the walls of a cavern at Cogul in Spain.

It is possible that these are religious symbols ; it is also possible that the dances which are depicted both in the South African and the Spanish cave-drawings had a religious significance, but even the wisest amongst us know very little of primitive man. Many of the



BUSHMAN PAINTING

Monkey and Buck

Bushman paintings are probably not more than one or two centuries old, but their value lies in the probability that they differ very little from the work of the earliest known dwellers in South Africa.

The
Bushman.

Long before the white man came to South Africa the Bushmen had been driven out of the best parts of the country by the Hottentots, and the earliest records show them to be a race of nomadic hunters, wandering from place to place in search of game and living in scattered groups. For dwellings they had low huts formed of plaited reeds or boughs, or they took shelter amongst the rocks and even in holes in the earth. For

weapons they had knobkerries and bows and arrows, the tips of the latter being poisoned by a milky substance which was extracted from a native shrub. For digging out the wild tuberous roots which grew in the veld they used a sharpened spike of wood, wedged through a circular perforated stone—the primitive ancestor of our spade and similar to the digging-stones of Neolithic man.

The Bushman was a lover of freedom, intelligent, quick-witted, and courageous—he has been well compared with the Bhils of India, the famous little fighting folk of the hills. He was, as we have seen, an artist of no mean skill. He had, moreover, a rich store of legends and folk-lore and numerous myths connected with the sun, moon, and stars. Many of the constellations were noted and named by him—Orion's Belt being 'Three she-tortoises hanging on a stick', while the twin stars of Castor and Pollux were 'the cow elands'. He had a moral code, though little idea of a God. Evil spirits entered into his dim faith, and traces are found of his belief in an existence after death. To Dr. Bleek, who devoted his life to the study of this primitive South African people, we owe vast stores of myths, fables, legends, and folk-lore which were collected by him.

The Hottentots were later arrivals, coming from Central Africa, and so completely did they drive the Bushman from the more fertile portions of the land that the Portuguese explorers of the fifteenth century found them established in the neighbourhood of the Cape. They were not a distinct race, but a mixture of the little Bushmen and the Bantu negro, and have the characteristics of both, though they approach more nearly to the Bushman type than to that of the Bantu.

We do not know at what remote period the Hottentots

The Hottentot.

followed the Bushmen to South Africa. The first white settlers found them living in great numbers from the shores of Table Bay to the Great Fish River, while another body of half-breed Hottentots were settled on the banks of the Orange and Vaal Rivers and known as Korannas, and yet another body on the south-west coast under the name of Namaquas. This group is the only one which has retained its characteristics in any degree of purity. The Hottentots were at constant feud with the Bushmen, and differed from them in being a pastoral people rather than a nation of hunters, owning cattle and sheep with broad fat tails, and moving indolently from one place to another in search of good pasturage. They slept in huts formed of mats stretched over wooden frames, lived chiefly on milk and roots, dressed in a skin kaross and rubbed themselves over with an ointment made of fat, soot, and the leaves of a herb called buchu.

Though taller than the Bushmen, the Hottentots retained the small stature, together with the yellow skin, high cheek-bones and other physical characteristics of the earlier race. To the Bantu strain they owe some superiority in height, and it is probable that their custom of living in communities and devoting themselves to cattle rearing was derived from the same remote source. Their language, with its curious clicks, is fundamentally allied to that of the Bushmen, its grammatical structure being very regular. These clicks have been adopted by the Kaffirs, and are not known to the original Bantu languages. Many myths, legends, and fables exist among the Hottentots, some of them bearing a strong resemblance to the folk-lore and nursery tales of Europe, others clearly derived from native sources.

The Hottentots were a cheerful people and fond of

dancing and feasting. Their religious faith was very vague, though they believed in a benevolent deity and in a spirit of evil, and some of the tribes worshipped the rain-god. The moon was a lesser divinity, and its appearance each month was celebrated by special dances. The first missionary to the Hottentots, George Schmidt, found that they hailed the annual appearance of the Pleiades above the eastern horizon with great joy, the mothers ascending the nearest hill with their babies in their arms and teaching them to hold out their hands to the stars.

In comparatively recent times—about three thousand years ago, it is thought—the Hottentots were followed by an influx of people of a Bantu-negroid race, usually spoken of as Kaffirs, who came from the central regions of the continent and established themselves in the northern districts of South Africa, driving the Hottentots before them, as they in their turn had driven the Bushmen. They were composed of three distinct branches, who probably arrived at different periods. These branches were :

The
Bantu.

I. The Bantu who spread over the land on the east coast, between Delagoa Bay and the Great Fish River, to the south of East London. This group may be subdivided into the Ama-Zulu, with the Ama-Swazi and Ama-Tonga to the north, and the Ama-Kosa, with the Tembu and Pondo in what was formerly known as Kaffraria. Early in the nineteenth century the northern tribes spread over Matabeleland, Gazaland, and part of the Transvaal.

II. The Bechuanas, with their kinsfolk the Basuto, who established themselves on the plateau between the Orange River and the Zambezi and extended to Lake Ngami and the Kalahari desert.

III. The Ovampo and the Ova-Herero, who settled on the west coast, between Walfish Bay and the Kunene River.

The Bechuanas were probably the first arrivals from Central Africa, and took for themselves the largest tract of country, driving southward and westward the Hottentots who, in their time, had dispossessed the Bushmen.

In the eighth century A.D. an Arab settlement was formed at Sofala, on the east coast, and trade in gold, ivory, and other articles was carried on with the Bantu of the south-west. It is thought that the Zulu people owe many of their fine physical qualities to the mixture of Arab blood, and that some of their religious observances may be traced to Mahommedan influences. To the Arabs the name Kaffir is due, being derived from the Arabic word 'Kafr', an unbeliever.

The Bantu or Kaffirs were a people of far finer physique than the Bushmen and Hottentots whom they followed, averaging in stature from five feet nine inches to six feet. They were fierce and warlike, truthful and honest, holding in great esteem the virtue of hospitality. Their religion included a form of ancestor-worship and a belief in spirits and witchcraft and in the power of the witch-doctor. Their arms consisted of the assegai and knobkerrie, with long shields of ox-hide. Cattle formed their chief wealth and were their currency in buying and selling—to this day the custom of lobola, or buying a wife from her father with so many head of cattle, is kept up by them. They had a very old and distinct political system, which has been described as 'a patriarchal monarchy limited by a powerful aristocracy', and in every respect they were in great advance of the little folk whom they had driven before them.

Such were the early inhabitants of South Africa, the

people who from the white sands of the shores looked with startled eyes on the sails of the ships which came from the unknown north to break the spell of unnumbered centuries.

The land as they had known it was very different to the South Africa of to-day. Without houses, railways, municipalities, or any of the amenities of civilization which seem so indispensable to modern man, it must have been a glorious country in the richness of its unspoiled vegetation and the wealth of its animal life. In every kloof of the mountain and in the good soil of the veld grew forests of yellow-wood, iron-wood, South African cedars, and other trees. Silver-trees gleamed on the slopes of Table Mountain and everywhere were breadths of waxen heath, arum lilies, ixias, mesembryanthemum—it is bewildering to think of the glory of the flowers before the flower-raider came into the land or the wattle and blue-gum and beef-tree had been brought from Australia to invade Nature's rarest and most lovely garden.

Un-
civilized
South
Africa.

Over the wide plains roamed the quagga, the rhinoceros and the wildebeest, the zebra and the giraffe, the eland, the gemsbok, the springbok, the hartebeest, and other antelopes. In the forests and wooded mountains lived elephants, buffaloes, bushbuck, koodoos, sable and roan antelopes, while the lion roared where Cape Town lies secure and peaceful to-day. The crocodile⁴ was still to be found in the rivers of what is now the Transkei. The land was rich in animal life, and the seas teemed with seals and whales, besides many varieties of edible fishes. The ostrich stalked over the veld, and there were game-birds in great abundance—quail, guinea-fowl, bustard, snipe, wild-duck, francolins, South African partridges, and many others. Sugar-birds flashed over

the flowers, eagles built their nests high up in the mountain crags, over the untilled high veld the sakka-boula dived and plunged in his curious progression, over the white sands of the beaches and lagoons the flamingo spread his crimson wings in flight.

Doubtless the hunters killed many birds and beasts. Probably some of the bush was cut down for firewood. But vast tracts of country must have rested untrodden by the foot of man since the beginning of time, unspoiled and waiting.

CHAPTER III

THE GREAT ADVENTURERS

WE are apt to think and talk of Cecil Rhodes's project of a Cape to Cairo railway as of something that will connect the extreme south of the African continent with the ancient lands of the north for the first time in history. We forget how old this South Africa is, and that six hundred years before the Christian era the Egyptians sailed round her capes and perhaps landed on her coasts.

Expedition sent round Africa by Pharaoh Necho, c. 600 B.C.

We owe the record of this expedition to Herodotus, the Greek historian, and there is no reason to suppose that his story is not accurate, for it was only a little over a hundred years later when he visited Egypt and collected materials for his history from the priests and other learned men of the day. To them this journey was a thing no more remote than the Battle of Trafalgar is to us.

Though this was the first recorded expedition which sailed round Africa, ships had been sent down the east coast at a still earlier date and had returned laden with gold, ivory, and other precious commodities for the Pharaoh. The land of Punt, which was situated somewhere near modern Somaliland, was rich in ebony, incense, ivory, and many other things, and we know that fifteen hundred years before Christ the great Egyptian queen Hatshepsut sent ships to that country. On the walls of her temple of Deir-el-Bahri near Thebes are pictures commemorating the expedition and depicting

a village in Punt and the reception of the Egyptians by the prince of the land.

How far down the coast the early travellers came we do not know. It is possible that they made their way farther south than Punt, and eyes which looked on Moses may also have gazed on Table Mountain, but of this there is no record. What we do know is that Pharaoh Necho, who ruled in Egypt six hundred years before the birth of Christ, sent an expedition from the Red Sea, manned by Phoenician sailors, which sailed round Africa.¹ Three years the journey took, for the sailors landed at different places on the coast, dug the ground and sowed it with corn. When the crop had ripened it was gathered and sail was made for the next halting-place. Southward and southward they went, says the old chronicler, until, as they declared, the sun was on their right hand as they sailed. In the third year they doubled the Pillars of Hercules and came safe home. Think of the courage of it. Perhaps they put in at Table Bay or Durban or elsewhere on the coast, and made their temporary gardens in the kindly soil of South Africa. It is curious to think that the slender Egyptian explorers may have stood at the foot of Table Mountain and worshipped the Sun God as he rose over the Drakenstein. We may picture to ourselves their return after that three years' journey—how they sailed up the west coast and through the Pillars of Hercules and down the blue Mediterranean, until they came to the Rosetta mouth of the Nile and to the noble city of Saïs, then the capital of Egypt.

A.D. 1434. And after this the curtain falls for nearly two thousand Prince years, to rise again in A.D. 1434, in which year that Henry the Navigator 'dreamer devout' Prince Henry the Navigator sent an

¹ Herodotus, iv. 42.

expedition from Portugal which succeeded in rounding Cape Bojador and paved the way for the discovery of the sea-route to India.

sends an expedition down the west coast of Africa.

It was of infinite importance to Portugal that such a route should be found. At that time the proud and beautiful city of Venice owed her prosperity mainly to the fact that she was the channel through which poured into Europe the spices, gold, silks and diamonds of the rich East, carried overland to the Levant or by the Red Sea to Alexandria, and thence by sea in the ships of the Venetian Republic. Holding



PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR

this Eastern trade completely in her hands, growing daily in wealth and arrogance, Venice was the richest city in Europe. With the discovery of a sea-route to India round the south of Africa this monopoly would cease and her power shrink, while Portugal in her turn would reap the harvest. To this end Dom Henry worked and laboured as earnestly as in the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. He did not live to see the realization of his dreams in the discovery of the Indian sea-route and the consequent raising of Lisbon to the proud place once occupied by Venice, but he was the pioneer to

whose great qualities of mind and to whose wisdom and knowledge the discovery is due.

He was one of the great souls of the earth, that son of John I of Portugal and his English Queen Philippa—daughter of ‘Old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster’. To his genius and dogged perseverance in the face of ridicule and discouragement we owe the discovery of almost one half of the world. His strength of purpose and ardour inspired all who served him. His sailors braved hardships and privations which are almost beyond our imagination, upheld by their faith in his dreams—dreams which are commonplace realities to-day.

Madeira
re-dis-
covered,
and vines
planted.

It was Dom Henry's ships that re-discovered Madeira, the Purple Islands of Pliny, which had been known to the Phoenicians and early Genoese explorers and subsequently forgotten. By his orders the island was planted with the Malvoisie or Malmsey grape from Cyprus and sown with grain and sugar-cane. By 1446 his explorations had been pushed as far south as Sierra Leone, and at every point on the African coast his men were instructed to ask the way to the great kingdom of Prester John, that half-mythical, half-real king of the land which we know to-day as Abyssinia. In 1460

1460.
Death of
Prince
Henry.

Dom Henry died. Like Moses he had seen the Promised Land, though he had not set foot in it, but the greatness of his inspiration lived after him, and in 1486 his nephew King John II of Portugal sent a little expedition of three ships under Bartholomeu Diaz to carry on the work of African exploration. Two of the ships were of fifty tons, and the third was a small vessel used for the transport of provisions. The explorers carried with them stone crosses called *padrões*, which they set up at every landing place as a sign to the heathen that a Christian nation had set its seal on the land. South-

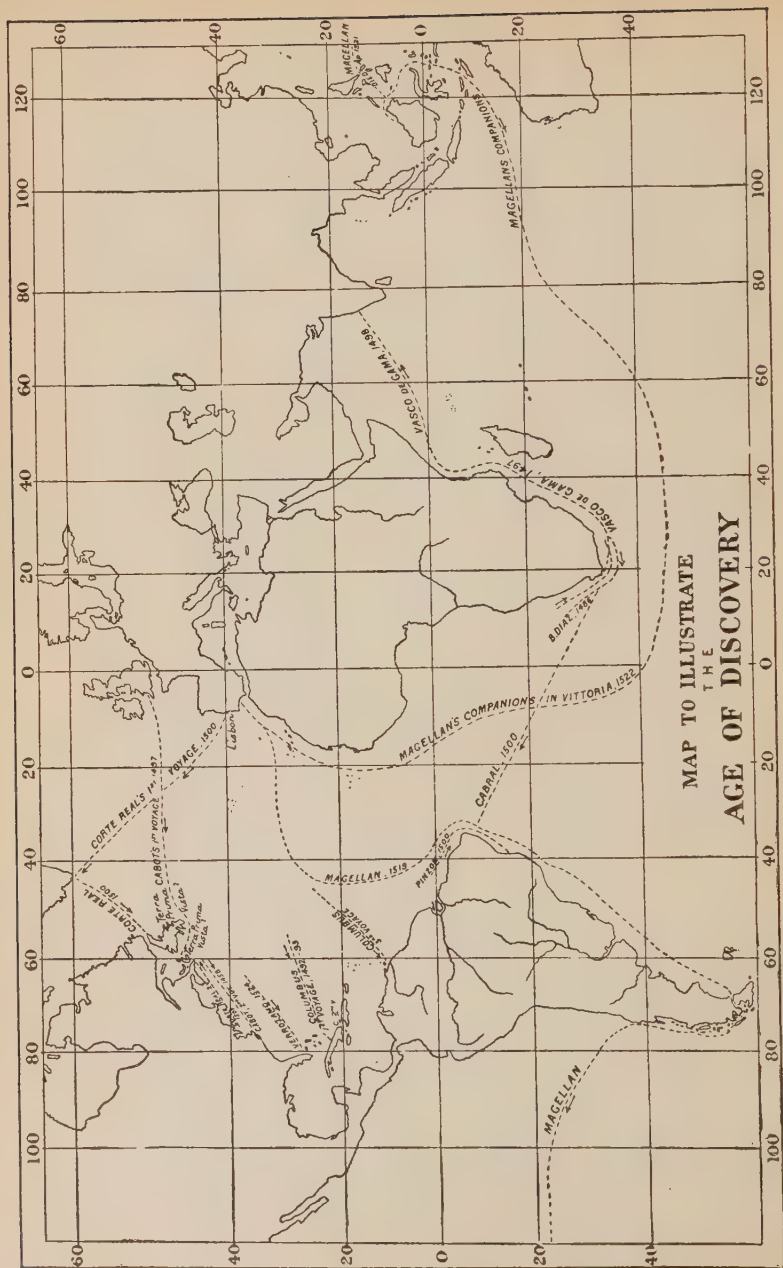
1486.
Bartholo-
meu Diaz
sails from
Portugal.

ward and southward they sailed down the west coast, as Pharaoh Necho's men had sailed down the east, and as they sighted capes and bays they gave them the names which they bear to-day. The Portuguese have left their mark on Africa in Sierra Leone, Angra Pequena—which the Germans renamed Luderitzbucht four hundred years later—Saldanha Bay, Algoa Bay, Agulhas, Natal, and a hundred names besides.

Bartholomeu Diaz was, as I have said, in command of the expedition, and the second ship, the *Santo Pantaleão*, was commanded by João Infante. Diaz had for his pilot Pedro d'Alanquer, and for captain of the provision ship his brother João Diaz. This ship was left at a point on the west coast to await their return.

So they sailed southward until they fell in with a storm, before which they drove for thirteen days without sighting land, until they found themselves in cold seas and turned and steered for the east—'thinking that the land still ran north and south', says the old Portuguese historian de Barros. And at last there came a day when Diaz told the helmsman to steer for the north, realizing that they must have passed the most southern point of Africa, and they came to a land on the shore of a bay. There they saw many cows grazing under the care of natives, so they called the place 'Angra dos Vaqueiros', which means the Bay of the Cowherds, but we know it to-day as Mossel Bay. Thence they sailed eastward, hoping each day that the land would curve to the north and the route to India lie open. In Algoa Bay they landed on a little island which they called Santa Cruz, from the cross which they set up, and there the men mutinied and clamoured to be taken back to the provision ship. They had come farther than white man ever came before, they said,

Diaz
rounds
the Cape.



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
THE
AGE OF DISCOVERY

and they feared lest they should die of hunger. Diaz persuaded them—for his heart was in the search—to go on for three days more, and at the end of that time he turned back in great heaviness of soul. Landing on the island of Santa Cruz he took farewell of the cross ‘with as much grief and sorrow’, says de Barros, ‘as if he was leaving a son in exile for ever, remembering with what peril to himself and all his company he had journeyed so far, solely to this end, since God had not granted him success in his principal design. Setting out thence they came in sight of that great and famous cape concealed for so many centuries, which when it was seen made known not only itself but also another world of countries. Bartholomeu Diaz and those of his company, because of the perils and storms they had endured in doubling it, called it the Stormy Cape (Cabo Tormentoso), but on their return to the kingdom the king, Dom John, gave it another more illustrious name, calling it the Cape of Good Hope, because it gave promise of the discovery of India, so long desired and sought for so many years.’

He turns back.

The Cape of Good Hope named.

So Diaz failed, or thought he had failed, and twelve years later he went down in a storm off his own Cape of Good Hope, where he lies beneath its blue waters. But he had discovered twelve hundred miles of hitherto unknown land, and he had in truth found the route to India, as was shown by the voyage of Vasco da Gama eleven years later. Like Dom Henry, Diaz had looked on the Promised Land and had not been permitted to enter in, though he was its true discoverer.

Guided by the experience of Diaz, in 1497 Vasco da Gama sailed round the Cape of Good Hope to India in the *San Rafael*, and from that time the prosperity of Venice waned while Portugal thrived and prospered as

1497.
Vasco da Gama sails round the Cape to India.

Natal
receives
its name.

the great trade of the East passed into her hands. As Diaz had named the places at which he had touched, so Vasco da Gama gave the name of Natal to the coast which he passed on Christmas Day. Farther up the east coast he found prosperous Arab towns, which drove a thriving trade with India, and there he learned that his venture had been crowned with success.

The road to the East had been found, and from this time onward Portugal sent fleets each year to trade with India and bring back the rich cargoes of spices and silks which had formerly passed by the overland route and through Venice to the rest of Europe. Before long her power was supreme in the Indian Ocean.

1503.
Antonio
de Sal-
danha
climbs
Table
Mountain,
and gives
his name
to the bay.

In 1503 a fleet commanded by Antonio de Saldanha sailed into Table Bay, then an unknown and unexplored place. He climbed the great mountain which rose behind the anchorage, watered his ships at the stream which flowed down the valley, purchased a cow and two sheep from the timid little Hottentots who had hidden themselves at the first sight of the strangers, and then sailed on to the East, having first named the watering-place the Agua de Saldanha. Through a confusion on the part of the Dutch this name was afterwards transferred to a bay sixty miles farther north, and the name Table Bay was given by the sea-captain Joris van Spilbergen to the Agua de Saldanha.

Those were days in which the Crescent and the Cross were at deadly feud, and fierce fights followed on the efforts of the Portuguese to possess themselves of the thriving Arab towns on the east coast of Africa and to establish themselves on the Malabar coast. Armed ships and troops were sent in great numbers from Portugal, and at the same time missionaries took their

lives in their hands and went forth to carry the message of Christianity to the Moslem and heathen. In 1505 the great soldier Francisco de Almeida was appointed the first Viceroy of the new possessions in the East, but misfortunes attended his administration, and in 1509 he was recalled and set sail for Portugal, being succeeded in his office by Albuquerque.

On the arrival of the fleet in Table Bay a number of the men went ashore, taking casks for water and meaning to trade with the Hottentots of the beaches, who at first showed themselves to be friendly and invited the sailors to their camp. On the way, however, a quarrel sprang up, during which one of the white men was hurt. Returning to the ships they presented themselves before the ex-Viceroy and asked that a punitive expedition might be sent ashore. Against the better judgement of Almeida this was agreed to, and on the following day he landed with a hundred and fifty of his officers and men, in a raging south-easter. Leaving the boats to await them near what is now the Woodstock beach, they made their way to the native village. Here they were attacked by the Hottentots with assegais, and, being for the most part without shields, and only armed with swords and lances, the Portuguese tried to regain the boats. But, blinded by the driving sand, held back by the heavy beaches, in which they sank ankle-deep, pursued by a hail of darts, they reached the edge of the sea, only to find that their boats had put out into the bay on account of the heavy wind. Before help could reach them, the great Viceroy, with the flower of the Portuguese fleet, had fallen. They lie beneath the white sands of the Woodstock beaches, Almeida and his men. From that time onward Portuguese sailors gave a wide berth to the great mountain

1510.
Dom
Francisco
de Almeida
lands at
the Cape
and is
killed.

The Portuguese
travellers.

and its shore, passing by the Cape without landing on their way to the East. There is no space here wherein to tell their tale of adventure, or of the brave men and heroic women who were shipwrecked on the coast and met death as befitted brave souls. The story of Manuel de Sousa and his wife Dona Leonor has been told in fine verse by the great poet Camoens, who sailed round South Africa a few years after their tragic death, and left the record of his journey in the *Lusiad*. Not less moving are the stories of Bernard de Carvalho, of Dona Johanna de Mendoça, of the missionary, Father Gonçala da Silveira, who was murdered near the Zambesi in 1561, and of many another—but they must be read elsewhere.

English and Dutch
ships make
their way
into the
eastern
seas.

And now other European nations were spreading their wings and preparing to take flight into that new world which the genius of Prince Henry the Navigator and the courage of the men who followed him had opened up. The ships of England and the Netherlands were not very far behind those of Portugal and Spain, and there was fierce fighting round Aden and Ceylon and the Spice Islands of the Malay Archipelago, England and Holland frequently banding together against the others. They were pitifully small, those ships in which the gallant seamen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries set out to cross the world for the honour and profit of their countries—small, unhealthy, and inadequately provisioned. It is easy to imagine the Paradise that the green shore of Soldania, as the Cape continued to be called by the English for many years, must have seemed to the weary, scurvy-stricken men when they dropped anchor in the bay. Sir Francis Drake, who sailed round it in the *Golden Hind* in 1580, has left us a picture of the Cape, as he saw it from the sea.

1580.
Sir Francis Drake
sails round
the Cape.

‘This cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest cape that we saw in the whole circumference of the earth.’

For a full century, however, Portugal continued to be the dominant European power in the East, Goa having been established as the capital of Portuguese India in 1530. But she was a small country, unable to send out an adequate supply of men of a type necessary to the upholding of her great empire. Little by little the quality of her colonists deteriorated, mentally and physically. So far from keeping themselves strong and virile, their tendency was towards absorption by the natives amongst whom they lived. As they weakened, the British and French and Dutch, who were now trading in the Eastern seas, grew strong—until the latter, in the early half of the seventeenth century, had ousted them from Ceylon and Java, and much of India. Of her possessions in the East only Goa, Diu, and Daman remain to Portugal to-day, while the land between Delagoa Bay and Cape Delgado is all that represents her conquests on the East-African coast.

The
decay of
Portugal
and her
colonies.

CHAPTER IV

THE HALF-WAY HOUSE

It will be remembered that Sir Francis Drake sighted the Cape of Good Hope in 1580 on his voyage round the world. He had previously touched at the Moluccas and had prepared the way for a trade in spices with England. In 1591 three English ships put into Table Bay, eastward bound, and one of them, commanded by Captain James Lancaster, succeeded in reaching India. Of the other two, one was forced to return to England, having lost the greater part of her crew from scurvy, the other went down in a gale. Until the close of the century, however, such ships as pursued the great adventure of the East were sent by private enterprise, but on December 31, 1600, Queen Elizabeth amalgamated all these private enterprises into the English East India Company, and in 1601 the first fleet dispatched by the Company put into Table Bay, again under the command of Captain Lancaster. From that time onward, for several years, the fleets of the Company called yearly at Table Bay for water and cattle, the first venture having been attended with success—Captain Lancaster returning from Sumatra with a cargo of spices.

In 1583 a Dutchman named Jan Huyghen van Linschoten had sailed to Goa with a Portuguese fleet. He drew up a book of sailing instructions, and, guided by it, Cornelius Houtman, with a small fleet, sailed to Sumatra and Bantam in 1595. In 1601 Joris van Spilbergen, with a small fleet, put into Table Bay and gave it its present name. Shortly afterwards several private

1591.
English
ships
under
Lancaster
put in to
Table
Bay.

1600.
The
English
East India
Company
founded.

1602.
The
Dutch
East India
Company
founded.

companies were formed in the Netherlands for trade in the East. In 1602 these were amalgamated by the States-General into the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie—the Dutch East India Company—with its Eastern head-quarters at Batavia in Java. In the Netherlands the Company was represented by local boards, which sat at Amsterdam, Middelburg, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen, while the central authority was vested in a board of control composed of seventeen members, of whom sixteen were chosen by the directors, in proportion to the amount which each local board had subscribed to the general capital. The seventeenth was nominated by the other members in the United Netherlands.

It was a very powerful company, with authority to maintain armed forces on land and at sea, to make treaties in the name of the Stadtholder of the Netherlands, to establish colonies and administer them, to build forts and coin money, and it was granted a monopoly of trade with the East. Its sphere of operations extended from the Cape of Good Hope to a point west of the Straits of Magellan.

The
French
Com-
panies.

France, having sent an expedition to the East in the reign of François I, with disastrous results, formed a company in 1604 under Henri IV. This company failed and was reformed in 1615, still without much result. In 1642 Richelieu formed La Compagnie des Indes, which was finally reconstructed by Colbert in 1664 and an expedition sent to Madagascar. Four years later the first French factory in India was established at Surat.

Throughout the seventeenth century the power of these three nations grew in the East, and, as their ships put in to Table Bay for rest and refreshment, the sailors

looked longingly on the good soil and fresh water of the shore. In 1608 John Jourdain, Chief Merchant on the British East India ship *Ascension*, landed, and he has left on record his opinion that—

‘Saldania would beare any thinge that would be sowne or planted in it, as for all kinde of graine, wheate, barlye, &c., besides all kinde of fruite, as oranges, lemons, limes and grapes, &c. Beinge planted and sowne in due time, and kept as it ought to bee, if this countrye were inhabited by a civell nation, haveinge a castle or forte for defence against the outrage of those heathenish people and to withstand any forraine force, in shorte time it might bee broght to some civillitie, and within fewe yeares able of it selfe to furnish all shippes refreshinge, for the countrye at present doth abound with fishe and flesh in greate plentie.’

1608.
Jourdain
recom-
mends
England
to make
a settle-
ment at
the Cape.

But England was otherwise occupied, and did not pay much attention to John Jourdain's commendation of the far-off, little-known Cape of Good Hope. That it did not fall wholly on deaf ears is, however, shown by the record of Edward Terry, chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe, English ambassador to the Great Mogul. He tells us that in the year 1614 ten men who had been sentenced to death were respited by the entreaty of the East India Company, on the understanding that they should be banished to the Cape, as an experiment in colonization. The experiment, however, ended in failure, as might not unnaturally have been expected, considering the quality of the colonists.

1614.
An ex-
periment
in coloni-
zation.

A more gallant effort to set the seal of England on the Cape was made six years later, in 1620, when five ships of the East India Company put in to Table Bay under the command of Andrew Shillinge and Humphrey Fitzherbert. Quick to realize the value of the place as a half-way house to India, they hoisted the flag of

1620.
Shillinge
and Fitz-
herbert
hoist the
flag of
King
James.

England on the Signal Hill, taking possession of the land 'to the boundary of the nearest Christian kingdom', in the name of King James—after whom they named the hill. The captain and merchants of the Dutch ship *Schiedam*, then in the Bay, stood by as witnesses and joined in the cheers that went up as the flag of England broke and fluttered for the first time on South African soil.

But still England was too busy to keep the land which her sons had taken in her name, and it was left to her brave rival of the seas to make good a claim to the key of the East. For another thirty years, however, passers-by of all nations continued to call at Table Bay on their way to and from the East, but save for these visitors the land was left to the dominion of the Hottentot. The passers-by were in the habit of leaving letters under marked stones, in the hope that friendly homeward-bound ships would convey them to their destinations. These post-office stones, as they are called, have been found from time to time, and several of them may be seen in the South African Museum. One of the earliest of which we have any record was left by Sir Hugh Middleton, when he passed in August, 1604. His ships were the *Red Dragon*, *Hector*, and *Ascension*, and the ship's log of the *Red Dragon* records that some of Shakespeare's plays were acted by the ship's company—in the lifetime of the great poet.

Post-office
stones.

1651.
The
half-way
stations.

In 1651 the English East India Company took the island of St. Helena for its half-way house, the Portuguese had chosen Mozambique, the French Madagascar. Wisest of all, as we now see, was the Dutch East India Company when it gave up its temporary occupation of St. Helena and raised its flag where the Union Jack of King James had been left to beat itself to tatters thirty-two years earlier.

This, at that time the greatest of all the companies which traded with the East, had been founded, as we know, at the beginning of the century, and the States-General had been moved by two considerations in granting its charter—the desire to regulate and protect the trade to the East, and at the same time to be able to draw upon its assistance in the War of Independence



POST-OFFICE STONE

against Spain and Portugal. It had by this time expelled the Portuguese from Ceylon and Malacca, had established factories on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts and in Bengal and the Persian Gulf, had established diplomatic relations with China and Japan, and had built the town of Batavia. It possessed 150 trading ships, 40 war ships, and 10,000 soldiers. It paid 40 per cent. to its shareholders, and its officials in the East

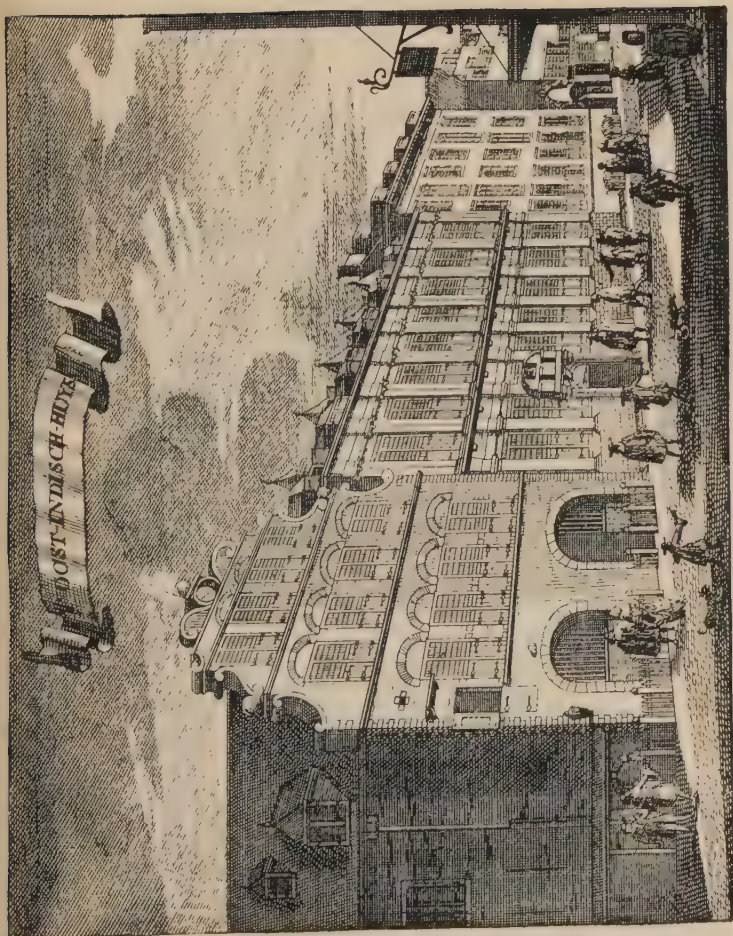
Growing power of the Dutch East India Company.

rapidly became as wealthy as the traditional nabob. The central board of directors in the Netherlands was usually spoken of as 'Their High Mightinesses'—'Hunne Hoogmogenden'—or, more colloquially, as 'The Seventeen'. For nearly a hundred years the wealthy and prosperous Dutch Company ruled the eastern seas, but as England and France grew in strength it was driven from the mainland of Asia, until little remained to it but the great islands of the Malay Archipelago and the Cape of Good Hope. Weakened by financial losses and military burdens, its final downfall was brought about by the conquests of the French Revolutionary armies, followed by the fall of the Stadtholder and the establishment of the Batavian Republic in 1798.

1648.
Wreck
of the
Haarlem.

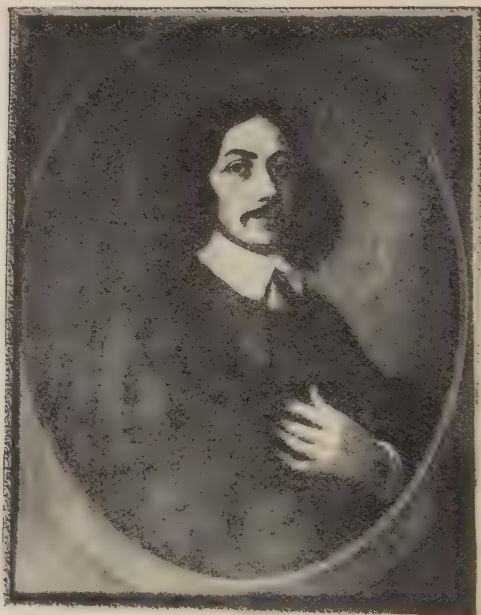
But the great Company was at the zenith of its power when in 1648 its fine ship, the *Haarlem*, was wrecked in Table Bay, and the crew were stranded for five months on the shore before rescue reached them. They were resourceful people, Janssen and Proot and the rest of the shipwrecked sailors, so, instead of sitting down and bemoaning their fate, they collected from the wreck sundry vegetable seeds, dug up the soil, and raised fine crops. In exchange for merchandise saved from the ship they obtained sheep and cattle from the Hottentots, and so well did they thrive that when the *Princesse Royale* came to take them off they were able to supply her scurvy-stricken crew with fresh meat and vegetables. Scurvy took terrible toll in those days, and it was no unusual thing for a ship to arrive with half its crew dead or dying.

They had no sooner arrived in Holland than Leendert Janssen and Nicolaas Proot sent a well-reasoned letter to the Seventeen, recommending the establishment of a fort and garden at the Cape of Good Hope, and



EAST INDIA COMPANY'S HOUSE AT AMSTERDAM

setting forth in eloquent words—as eloquent as those of John Jourdain which had fallen on deaf ears—the advantages to be derived from a provision station which combined rich, well-watered soil, and a plentiful supply of fish, game, and cattle with great natural beauty.



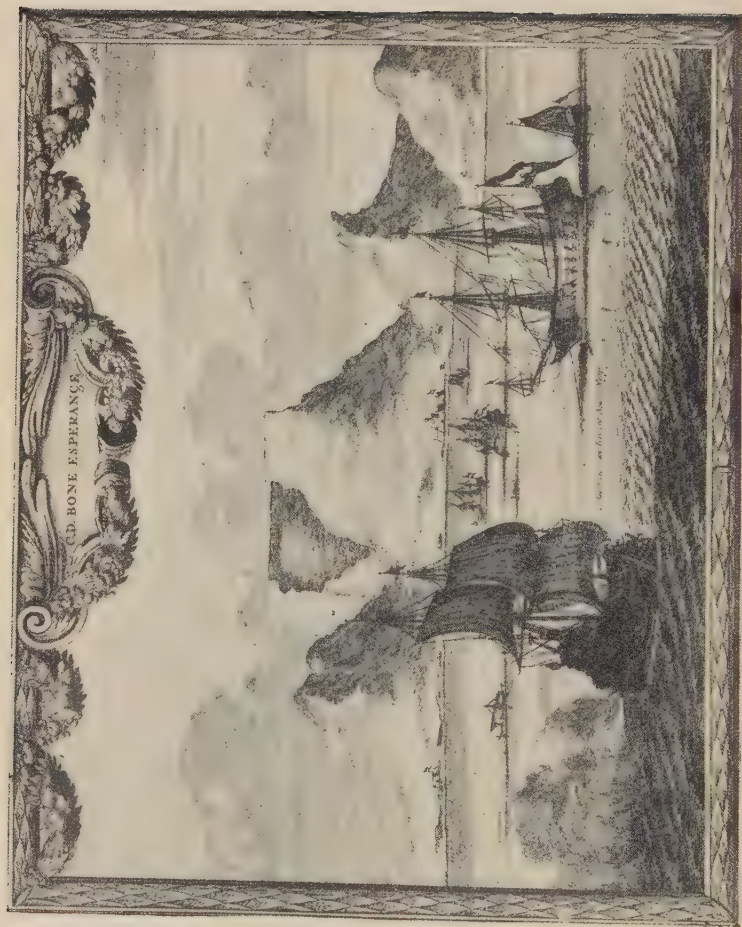
JOHAN VAN RIEBEECK

Much hung upon the reception of that letter—far more than either writers or recipients knew. The key of the East hung within the Company's reach. Would they grasp it or pass it by heedlessly? That they hesitated for even five minutes seems almost incredible to us to-day.

The letter was favourably considered by the Seventeen, and was eventually sent on to a trusted official of the Company, Johan van Riebeeck, for his opinion, which agreed in the main with the views of Janssen and Proot, and endorsed the wisdom of the Company's resolution to found a provision station at the Cape of Good Hope. The offer of the leadership of the expedition having been declined by Nicolas Proot, it was passed on to van Riebeeck, and events were to prove the wisdom of the appointment. He was what the phraseology of to-day would call a 'good all-round man', with a working knowledge of surgery and medicine, and keen powers of observation. He knew how to extract the oil from seals and whales, for he had seen the Greenland whalers at their work. He had noticed how arrack was made in Batavia, and how hides were tanned in Siam. He had once spent three weeks at the Cape, and held views as to the manner in which the settlement might be enclosed with thorn hedges, as he had seen done in the Caribbees. Best of all, though this is not mentioned in his report, he was a man of indomitable courage and great resource and perseverance, which fine qualities were destined to stand the Company in good stead in the years which were to follow. Van Riebeeck came of a family which had served the Company since its foundation, his father Anthony van Riebeeck having died at Pernambuco in its service. His wife, Maria de Querellerie, was a daughter of Minister Gaasbeeck of Rotterdam, and she displayed a serene endurance of peril and discomfort which must have been of infinite assistance to her husband. He set a fine example, for, despite sundry little shortcomings when dealing with the trade rivals of the Netherlands, his great qualities are indisputable.

The Company decide to form a provision station at the Cape.

Van Riebeeck appointed Commander.



ARRIVAL OF THE COMPANY'S FLEET

As soon as the ships had dropped anchor van Riebeeck went ashore 'to consider about the site of the fort', as he wrote in the Journal which was kept faithfully from this time onwards, for the information of the Company. On the 9th van Riebeeck marked out the place chosen, which was on the present Parade ground, in the rear of the Post Office. It was near the landing-place, and close to the stream of sweet water which flowed from the mountain down what is now Adderley Street, for a supply of pure water was essential for the passing ships. The Fort Good Hope, when completed, consisted of a stone tower surrounded by walls of earth. It was a poor protection against the neighbouring hordes of Hottentots, and would have been almost useless as a defence against trained European troops, but it was the best that van Riebeeck could build with the men and materials at his command. Of almost equal importance to a good water supply and a fortress was the supply of fresh vegetables for the ships, for scurvy still took a heavy toll, and van Riebeeck's next work was the laying out of the Company's garden. The first garden was on the site now occupied by the Dutch Reformed Church in Adderley Street, but before long it had extended farther up the valley—a portion of this garden remains to this day, though much of it has been built over. And now began a series of disasters that might have chilled the stoutest heart. The winter rains swept down on the wretched temporary dwellings which had been constructed hastily, and the strong winds unroofed them; the walls of the fort were broken down again and again, and many of the men died of chills and disease. From the newly planted garden the seeds were washed away, while the young plants were beaten down and destroyed. But with stubborn tenacity the

1652.
Landing
of van
Riebeeck.

The Fort
Good
Hope.

The
garden
of the
Company.

little Commander sowed fresh seeds in the reconstructed garden, and within a year from the time of landing he was able to supply the homeward-bound fleet with provisions. Here is the triumphant entry in his diary of March, 1653 :

‘Provided the ships with cattle, sheep, cabbages, carrots, milk, &c., and sent the Admiral in the galiot ten sheep, some cabbages, carrots, and beef.’



THE OLD DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH

As the great adventure of the Eastern seas had had its rise in the trade with spices and silks, so the Union of South Africa has grown from the little vegetable garden of Jan van Riebeeck. Each is a romance in the most true sense of the word. Each represents the toll of brave men and women who took their lives in their hands to serve their country in the ends of the earth.

1657.
Extension
of the

In 1657 van Riebeeck took into cultivation land at the back of Table Mountain, about five miles from the

fort, and built at 'het ronde boschen' Groote Schuur, or the Great Barn, for storing the grain. On the foundations of van Riebeeck's barn two centuries and a half later another great South African built the house which he left as the residence of the Premier of United South Africa.

settle-
ment
behind
Table
Mountain.
Groote
Schoor.

Van Riebeeck also planned the adjoining house of Rustenburg, which for many years was the official summer residence of the Dutch governors. His own private farm was Boscheuvel, now Bishops court, which he left well stocked with vines, olives, and fruit trees of all descriptions. Along the Liesbeek River and in Table Valley sundry free burghers were settled by him on lands which were found to be arable, labour being supplied by 250 slaves which had been captured in a Portuguese slaver by the Dutch East Indiaman *Ameersfoort* off the Cape, and by others brought from the Gulf of Guinea. The Hottentots, the Company had decreed, were not to be enslaved.

Free
burghers
settled on
the land.

An expedition was sent inland, through what was then a wild and dangerous country, and the little hill of Klapmuts received its name from the explorers, who were under the leadership of the Fiscal Abraham Gabbema. Passing on to the northward they found themselves in a wide and fertile valley, watered by a stream to which they gave the name of the Great Berg River, and two shining granite rocks which crowned the hill on their left they named the Paarl and the Diamant.

Expedi-
tion inland
under
Gabbema.

A trade in cattle was carried on with the Hottentots, interpreters being found amongst the natives. One of these had spent some time on an English ship and acquired a slight knowledge of that language, together with the name of Harry in exchange for his own of

Autshumao, and a further equipment of Dutch, learned at Bantam. Another interpreter was a young Hottentot girl, who became a convert to Christianity and was baptized under the name of Eva.

1662. When Jan van Riebeeck sailed from the Cape for
Departure of van Riebeeck. Batavia in 1662 he left behind him a thriving little colony, built up with infinite courage, self-sacrifice, and determination.

CHAPTER V

THE EXPANSION OF THE SETTLEMENT

VAN RIEBEECK was followed by Zacharias Wagenaar, and it was during this term of office that the foundations were laid of the present Castle of the Cape of Good Hope.

It will be remembered that van Riebeeck had built a fortress near the landing-place, and, but for the war which broke out with England and the consequent loss of the Dutch West India Company's possessions in North America, the need for stronger fortifications might have been overlooked. Expansion of the Cape was no part of the East India Company's original plan—to the Seventeen it was merely a provision-station, to be administered with rigid economy. However, even a provision-station had to be protected, if they did not wish to see it fall into the hands of Charles II or Louis XIV—according to circumstances—so, in 1665, an order was given for the building of a stout, stone fortress.

An engineer named Pieter Dombaar was chosen to superintend the work, the Commissioner Isbrand Goske was appointed to choose a site, and Commander Wagenaar was empowered to detain three hundred soldiers from passing ships, and to employ them in the preparation of stones and other materials. The wood was brought from the Hout Bay forests and the shells for lime from Robben Island by slaves. On January 2, 1666, the first stones of the Castle were laid with great ceremony and rejoicing. Eight years passed before the

1665.
The
Castle of
the Cape
of Good
Hope.



ENTRANCE TO THE CASTLE

The Expansion of the Settlement 43

building was sufficiently advanced for the garrison to move into it from the old fort of Jan van Riebeeck, which was soon afterwards broken down. The work on the Castle was continued, with intermissions during times of peace and feverish activity when Holland was at war with England or France, until its completion by Willem Adriaan van der Stel at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Wagenaar was followed in the administration by Cornelis van Quaelberg, Jacob Borghorst, Pieter Hackius, the Secunde Albert van Breugel, Isbrand Goske, Johan Bax, and Hendrik Crudop, successively. Their terms of office were not marked by any special developments. There was steady progress, but in none of them is to be seen that divine spark of love for the country and faith in its future which have marked the great men who have 'loved and served South Africa'. Johan Bax must be mentioned, however, for the energy with which he pushed forward the work on the Castle. Under him the moat was excavated, every man, woman, and child who passed the fortress being obliged to carry out a certain amount of earth in baskets.

On the 12th of October, 1679, the *Vrye Zee* sailed into Table Bay with the newly appointed Commander, Simon van der Stel, on board. Like van Riebeeck, Simon van der Stel came of a family which had served the Company since its foundation, his father Adriaan van der Stel having been Commander of Mauritius at the time of his son's birth. Mauritius, which the Dutch had abandoned for a time after the formation of a settlement at the Cape, was now under the control of the Council of Policy (as the government was called) at the Cape, in the same manner as the Cape was under the control of the Governor-General and Council at

The early
Dutch
Com-
manders.

1679.
Simon van
der Stel.

Batavia in all matters affecting domestic policy—all being under the Board of Directors of the Dutch East India Company in the Netherlands.

The new Commander was a man of great energy of character, quick-tempered but courteous, hospitable, kindly, and full of common sense. Witty, and possessed of considerable culture, his marriage with Johanna Jacoba Six, a member of the Amsterdam family who were friends and patrons of Rembrandt, must have brought him into close contact with all that was greatest in the art of Holland at that day. His wife did not accompany him to the Cape, but he brought with him his four sons—Adriaan, who rose to great distinction in the Company's service and eventually became Governor of Amboyna; Cornelis, who was lost in the *Ridderschap*; Willem Adriaan, who returned to the Cape on succeeding his father as Governor twenty years later; Frans, who, during his brother's administration, married into the Wessels family at the Cape, and farmed land near the Eerste River.

Old Cape
Town.

Small as it must have looked to Simon van der Stel, the settlement had made considerable progress since van Riebeeck chose the site of the fort in Table Valley. The Company's garden had thriven, and on the outskirts of it lay the private houses and gardens of the free burghers. Above the present Government House was Concordia, formerly the property of van Quaelberg; far up the valley lay Leeuwenhof, the homestead of the burgher Guillaume Heems, and down the Heerengracht and Zee Straat, now Adderley and Strand Streets, were the comfortable houses of well-to-do citizens. The hospital was on the sea-shore, and within van Riebeeck's original garden had been laid the foundations of a church. Down the Heerengracht, from the mountain,

The Expansion of the Settlement 45

ran a stream of sweet, clear water to the watering-place near the steps which lie beneath the present railway station.

It was only a little town in 1679, that cluster of white houses which was to grow into the Mother City of South Africa which we know to-day, but we can believe that Simon van der Stel looked with great hopes for the future on the thatched roofs of the settlement. There were farms and homesteads on the other side of the mountain, and the land had been explored eastward and northward for many miles. There were Company's outposts at Kirstenbosch and Saldanha Bay, and a cattle-station at Tygerberg. At Hottentots' Holland a farming station had been established.

A few days after his arrival the Commander set out to visit the outlying districts, and made his way into a rich and beautiful valley, watered by a stream and hemmed in to the north and east by mountains, which were misty grey in the mornings, purple at noon, and wine-coloured in the sunset. And there, his heart uplifted by the fair goodness of the land, he vowed that he would build a town and establish farms which should yield rich harvests in the warm and fruitful soil. Stellenbosch the new settlement should be called, in the place of Wildebosch—the name by which the district had hitherto been known.

1679.
The
founda-
tion of
Stellen-
bosch.

A month later the first pioneer had been established on his farm, and by May, 1680, eight families were settled in the valley. When we think of the value of the fruit farms which surround Stellenbosch to-day, it is strange to remember that the early settlers were given as much land as they chose to cultivate, with a tax of one-tenth on all unconsumed produce, and the absolute property of the farmers for as long as it was cultivated.

The culture of tobacco had been forbidden by the Company, but anything else might be grown. Two years later there was an addition of fifteen or sixteen families to the district, and in August, 1682, a Court or Heemraad, composed of four members, was established for the settlement of local disputes. The first members of the Heemraad were Gerrit van der Byl of Vredenburg, Henning Huysing of Meerlust, Hans Jurgen Grimp of Libertas, and Hendrik Elberts of Vlottenburg—all landowners of the district.

In another year Stellenbosch had grown and thriven so well that the Heemraaden represented to the Council of Policy the necessity for a school. The children of the thirty landowners were in danger of growing up ignorant and untrained, attendance at church was difficult on account of the distance from Cape Town, and they asked that a teacher, who might also read a sermon on Sundays and visit the sick, should be sent. The Council agreed to supply men and nails towards the erection of a suitable building if the inhabitants would provide the building material, and so rose the first public hall of Stellenbosch, with Dominie Sybrand Manakadan as Schoolmaster and Sick Comforter—to use the quaint phrase of the day. Year after year as his birthday came round, Simon van der Stel spent the day in Stellenbosch, marking the progress of the oaks which he had caused to be planted on either side of the streets, noting the growth of the gabled and thatched houses of the burghers, visiting the school and rewarding the diligent with cakes—the largest cake going to the most virtuous. Stellenbosch kept these anniversaries as a feast-day, and there was general merry-making and relaxation from work. In 1686 he established a Fair, to be held in the fortnight preceding his birthday,

The Expansion of the Settlement 47

during which time every one might buy and sell farm produce without the restrictions usually imposed by the Company, and target-shooting and drilling of the militia took place. This target-shooting gave the name Papagaaisberg to a little hill near Stellenbosch, on the summit of which was the target in the form of a gaily painted wooden parrot—in Dutch *papagaai*.

So Stellenbosch grew and thrived, and in 1687 the first church was built under the supervision of its kindly and vigilant founder, who contributed largely to its cost from his own purse. A Drostdy or residence for the Landdrost or magistrate had been built and a mill erected at the expense of the district, which was becoming very prosperous, the white gabled homesteads of the farmers rising fast among the green of the wide vineyards.

And now a new element was to enter into the young country, one that was to affect the character of its people, and stamp it in a marked degree with its features.

To understand the matter we must go back more than a hundred years and find ourselves in France, the France of the Field of the Cloth of Gold and of that François I who there met Henry VIII of England. Into this great and wealthy France had come the spirit of the Reformation, which had found many adherents. As far back as 1512 Jacobus Faber of Étapes had preached its doctrines, and in 1525 the First French Protestant martyrs were burned at the stake. In 1535 an edict was published, ordering the extermination of those who had joined the Huguenots—as members of the Reformed Church came to be called—and from that date began a steady emigration to countries where the Reform movement had been accepted. In 1538 the first French

The
Reforma-
tion in
France.

The
Hugue-
nots.

Protestant church, composed of 1500 refugees, was founded at Strassburg; others found an asylum in Holland and England. Persecution became more rigorous, despite the fact that some of the noblest names in France were to be found in the ranks of the Huguenots—Coligny, Ambroise Paré, du Plessis-Mornay, Bernard Palissy, Jeanne d'Albret, the Princess Renée of France, and many more—and was followed by the horrors of civil war and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew on the night of August the 24th, 1572, when Coligny and other leading Huguenots were slain. With the subsequent accession to the throne of Henry of Navarre, son of Jeanne d'Albret, was promulgated the Edict of Nantes,

1598.
The Edict
of Nantes
promul-
gated by
Henry of
Navarre.

1685.
The Re-
vocation
of the
Edict of
Nantes by
Louis
XIV.

on April 13, 1598, which gave to the Huguenots political freedom, and during his short reign of twelve years the Reformed Church was at peace. In the reign of his successor, Louis XIII, persecution re-commenced under the influence of Richelieu, and on the 13th of October, 1685, Louis XIV pronounced the revocation of the Edict of Nantes—moved to do so, we are told by St.-Simon, by Madame de Maintenon.

It has been said that 'this was one of the most flagrant political and religious blunders in the history of France, which in the course of a few years lost more than 40,000 of its inhabitants, men who, having to choose between their conscience and their country, endowed the nations which received them with their heroism, their courage, and their ability'.

England and other countries offered shelter to the fugitives, who had in most cases lost all their worldly possessions, and were only too frequently the solitary survivors of their families. Many of them were men and women of gentle birth, for adherents to the Reformed Faith were found in the greatest houses of France, others

The Expansion of the Settlement 49

were trades-folk, wine-growers, and farmers, but all were reduced to a common level in the face of ruin and destitution.

The early settlers at the Cape had been drawn from many countries besides Holland, as their names indicate, the Netherlands being too small to supply the large numbers of men needed for the development of the Dutch East India Company's possessions over-seas. To this population of varied nationalities was now to be added a large number of French, men, women, and children, whose descendants spread to-day from one end of the country to the other and retain many of the characteristics of their gallant ancestors. It is well for South Africa that this good blood runs in her veins. Even before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes thousands of Huguenots had been driven from France, and many of these had taken refuge in Holland or entered the service of the Dutch Company at the Cape or in the East. Amongst these was Dominique de Chavonnes, who became Captain of the Garrison of the Cape. It has been stated that eighty families of Huguenot refugees were brought to the Cape by the Admiral Henri du Quesne in 1690, but so far no proof of this has been found.

In October 1685 the Seventeen passed a resolution in favour of sending out French refugees to the Cape as settlers. At first only two or three could be found willing to face the separation from Europe, but the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the same month filled the Netherlands to overflowing with the unhappy Huguenots, and two years later many adventurous spirits were found willing to take up life again in the new country over-seas. It had been the intention of the Company to add to the French Huguenots 700 or 800

1685.
Huguenot
refugees
to be sent
to the
Cape.

of the exiled Vaudois or Waldensians, who had been driven from Piedmont at the instigation of Louis XIV. The States-General had agreed to aid these exiles with a grant of money, the fugitive French minister Pierre Simond was to accompany them, they were to be treated well and were, in return, to take the oath of allegiance to the Prince of Orange and the East India Company. All was in training, when the Vaudois suddenly refused to leave Europe, and the refugees were thenceforward drawn from the French.

The Company gave them free passages and agreed to provide them with farms in free property and to supply them with farming stock on credit. It was hoped that, as many of the exiles came from the wine-making and olive-growing districts of their land, they would develop these industries at the Cape. It is true that there were among the refugees some who were of gentle birth and unused to hard work, but there were practical farmers as well. Their culture of the vine equalled almost all that the Company desired, but it is only during the last few years that a practical beginning of the olive industry has been made—and that by a descendant of the Huguenot Jean Mesnard of Provence.

The
Hugue-
nots.

The new-comers were accompanied by Pierre Simond of Dauphiné, Minister of the Gospel, and his wife Anne de Béront, and for the first few years services were conducted in French. Other refugees of note were Jacques de Savoie, once a wealthy merchant, but now penniless; Isaac Taillefer, who speedily became famous for the quality of the wine made in his vineyards at the entrance to the Paarl; and the Sieur du Plessis, a member of the Richelieu family. Farms at Stellenbosch and bordering on the Berg River were marked off for the new-comers; from Coin Français, which is

The Expansion of the Settlement 51

now called French Hoek, to north of the present town of Wellington, a great part of the original grants stand in French names.

The Huguenots were not all peaceful souls, and we read of fierce disputes—possibly on theological matters—between the minister Simond and Jacques de Savoie. We find them united, however, on the day upon which they rode to the Castle with Abraham de Villiers to petition that the Huguenots might have a church and church officers of their own, in preference to being absorbed by the Dutch Reformed Church at Stellenbosch. Their request was refused by Simon van der Stel with a degree of warmth which it is difficult to understand, until we remember that the Netherlands were at war with France at that moment, and great anxiety was felt by the Company lest their new colonists should attempt to form a French republic at the Cape. There does not appear to have been any ground for the suspicion, but its effect was a policy of repression of the French language and nationality in accordance with the instructions sent by the Company. On the appointment of Minister Bek, who succeeded Pierre Simond, they wrote of him as one who ‘understands both the Dutch and French languages, not to preach in the latter language, but only to be able to administer to the aged colonists who do not know our language, and thus in course of time to kill that language and banish it thence. With that object henceforth the schools shall proceed in no other direction or further than to let the youth learn our language, read and write it.’

The
French
language

So the tongue of St. Louis and Molière, of Saint-Simon and Coligny died out of the land, and the descendants of the men and women who saw the red

light fall through the rose-window of Rheims Cathedral on the face of Joan of Arc, of the soldiers who fought with Henry of Navarre at Ivry, and of those who fell with Coligny at the St. Bartholomew massacre know it no more.

It was not without a struggle that the French gave up their language and nationality. When the policy of the Company became known indignation meetings were held in Drakenstein and elsewhere, and resolutions against marriage or association with their Dutch fellow-colonists were passed—resolutions which it was neither possible nor desirable to keep. It must not be forgotten that in other respects the Company had treated the refugees with generosity, granting them good land and assisting them to begin life again. To South Africa the good French blood was of great benefit, grafted on the sturdy stock of the earlier settlers—for in a generation or two the resolutions together with the mother-tongue had been forgotten, as the memory of the fair land of France died away.

CHAPTER VI

AN ERA OF PROSPERITY

FOR twenty years Simon van der Stel ruled over the little colony of the Cape of Good Hope. It was a kindly despotism that he exercised over the difficult elements which formed the population, his plain common sense carrying him through many threatened troubles both with the colonists and with the Company.

Adminis-
tration of
Simon van
der Stel,
1679-1699

He was famed for his hospitality, and Père Tachard, one of the Jesuit priests sent by Louis XIV with a French mission to Siam, has left us a pleasant picture of the reception which the Frenchmen received at the Cape. On their arrival they found four large Dutch ships in the bay, one of which had brought the Lord of Mydrecht, Hendrik Adriaan van Rhee de tot Drakenstein, the Commissioner of the East India Company, sent to inspect the Cape on behalf of the Company. These inspections were of annual occurrence, but it was not every year that the Company's representative was 'a man of quality, civil, wise, and learned, thinking and speaking well on all subjects', as Mr. Leibbrandt has described him.

1685.
Visit of
Père
Tachard.

Arrival
of the
Lord of
Myd-
recht.

The Lord of Mydrecht and the Commander received the Frenchmen in the great council-hall of the Castle and gave them tea 'in the Indian fashion', says Père Tachard, on the roof-terrace. Finding them anxious to make astronomical observations, van der Stel offered them accommodation in a guest-house which he had built in the Company's garden, and which has since developed into the present Government House. Père Tachard has recorded the beauty of the garden, on which the Commander had spent great care, bringing trees and plants from all parts of the world. At the



THE CASTLE GATEWAY

gate was the great slave lodge—now the old Supreme Court building—in which five hundred of the Company's slaves slept. It was all very pleasant and friendly, for Simon van der Stel was interested in scientific matters and realized that his visitors were what they represented themselves to be, and not spies. Unfortunately, the Seventeen had no such width of outlook, and reprimanded him severely for his courtesy to the French—above all for having accepted a miniature of Louis XIV from one of the French officers. It was one of many occasions on which the views of Company and Commander clashed—van der Stel's always being upheld with much vigour.

The garden had been one of the Commander's first interests. Van Riebeeck had reclaimed it from the wild land of Table Valley and planted it with vegetables and fruit trees, in the shelter of lemon and myrtle and oak hedges, but now that many of the burghers had their own market gardens there was leisure to think of flowers and beautiful shrubs. So, from the East, Simon van der Stel and his son after him brought the hydrangeas, oleanders, hibiscus, palms, and other things which are the glory of Cape gardens to-day, besides 'flowers the most esteemed of Europe' says Père Tachard. The Commander was, however, a practical man, filled with great hope for the future of the Cape, and his planting went far beyond palms and oleanders. Thousands of oaks and pines—of the stone and cluster varieties—were raised from seed and planted on the slopes of the mountain behind Groote Schuur and Rustenburg. Wagon-loads of young oaks were sent to Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, and the Paarl. In the Company's garden he collected many of the medicinal herbs which were used by the natives, and experimented with them.

Progress
of the
Com-
pany's
garden.

The
slaves.

This work was carried out by slaves, under the superintendence of white overseers. The slaves were brought from Madagascar, Ceylon, and the East Indies by the Company, and sold to the burghers at a sum equivalent to six pounds sterling, or the price could be paid in wheat. The laws concerning slaves had been somewhat vague during the early days of the Cape, but in 1685 the Lord of Mydrecht, as Commissioner, had decreed that slave children should be taught to read and write, and should be instructed in the Christian religion. Slaves could be punished by their owners, but could not be flogged or tied up without the consent of the Fiscal and Commander. Freedom was obtainable after a term of years which varied according to circumstances — in the case of slaves imported from abroad it was after thirty years' service and upon payment of a sum equal to £8 6s. 8*d.*, but was dependent on good character, a knowledge of Dutch, and the profession of Christianity. Many of the oriental slaves, known as Malays, were Mohammedans, and that creed is professed by a large proportion of the coloured inhabitants of Cape Town to this day. Not all these, however, are of slave descent, for many political prisoners were banished to the Cape from the East in the early days, amongst them various rajahs, and the Macassar nobleman and saint Sheikh Yussuf, who died at Eerste River in 1699, and whose tomb is an object of reverence to Moslems to the present time.

Another important enactment made by the Lord of Mydrecht was to the effect that officers of the Company might be granted land in full property, as in the case of the free burghers, and might sell their produce to the Company. This, he thought wisely, would increase their interest in the country and would, at the same time, augment their very small salaries. To Simon van

der Stel he granted a tract of land beyond Wynberg, to which the Commander gave the name of Constantia—probably after Constantia, the little daughter of the Lord of Mydrecht. To the Secunde Andries Man was given the land above the gardens through which the present Camp Street runs; and to Olof Bergh, the Captain of the Garrison, a farm at Kuil's River.

It is interesting to trace the development of representative government at the Cape. On the arrival of the Commissioner he had found established the Council of Policy—composed of the Commander and several inferior officers, varying in numbers according to the circumstances of the times. It was now placed upon a more settled basis, and henceforth consisted of eight members—the Commander, Secunde, Fiscal, Treasurer, Chief Salesman, Garrison Bookkeeper, and the two military officers of highest rank.

The
Council
of Policy.

The High Court of Justice from this time onward consisted of the Commander and seven other Company's officials, with the two oldest Burgher Councillors, and the Fiscal as public prosecutor. The burghers had been represented by two councillors chosen from their own ranks since van Riebeeck's time.

There also existed the Board of Militia, the Orphan Chamber, the Matrimonial Court, and the Court of Commissioners for Petty Cases. It is not necessary to enter here into the respective functions of each court and council, but it will be seen that ample provision had been made for the proper control of the Settlement. In addition to enlarging the Council of Policy and the Court of Justice, the Lord of Mydrecht added to the Court of Heemraaden at Stellenbosch a Landdrost, to preside over its meetings and guard the Company's interests. The first Landdrost was Johannes Mulder.

These and many other matters occupied the attention of the Commissioner during his visit in 1685, but to none of them does his memory cling as to the lovely valley to which Simon van der Stel gave the name of Drakenstein in his honour.

Draken-
stein.

It was shortly after his departure that the Commander set forth on a journey of exploration to Nama-



GROOT CONSTANTIA

1685.
Simon van
der Stel's
journey
to Nama-
qualand.

qualand. There is in existence an old print which depicts the party setting out, van der Stel in a coach drawn by eight horses, and with him a train of wagons, carts, oxen, horses, and mules, conveying fifty-six Europeans and a multitude of slaves and Hottentot interpreters. They penetrated as far north as the copper mountain of which the natives had spoken, and found a quantity of copper ore, but the great river to the north they only succeeded in placing on the map and

did not reach. This river, called by them Vigiti Magna, was afterwards known as the Groote River, until Colonel Gordon, at the end of the eighteenth century, gave it its present name of the Orange. It is difficult to realize to-day what the perils and hardships of the journey must have been.

The
Orange
River.

Simon van der Stel is closely associated with the archi-



THE KAT AT THE CASTLE

ture of the old Cape houses, which has many points in common with that of Holland, with a ground plan which is entirely original. His own homestead of Constantia, which still remains, is a very good example of the type of house which was built all over the Cape and its neighbourhood at this time. For these beautiful houses the Commander took workmen from the passing ships, and set them to the making of fine iron hinges and staples, and thereby drew on himself the wrath of the Company.

Old Cape
architec-
ture.

Many other things did Simon van der Stel. He built a hospital in the Heerengracht, facing the foundations of the Groote Kerk which had been laid by Governor Bax. He planted wide vineyards and did his best, by precept and example, to induce the farmers to make wine on sound methods. He explored the coast as far as Natal; and then, having been promoted to the rank of Governor in recognition of his services to the Company, and being full of years, he retired to his Constantia farm, and his son Willem Adriaan was sent out by the Directors as Governor in his stead.

1699.
Willem
Adriaan
van der
Stel ap-
pointed
Governor.

Now the story of Willem Adriaan van der Stel has been told very often, by his friends and by his opponents. His was one of those virile, vital natures, of which the influence never seems to die, whether it is for good or ill, so that after the lapse of centuries controversies regarding them rage as fiercely as during their lifetimes.

Born at Batavia, during an appointment held in the East Indies by his father, he passed his youth abroad in the Company's service, only going home to take up the post of magistrate at Amsterdam. His appointment as Councillor-Extraordinary of the Dutch East India Company and Governor of the Cape of Good Hope was made by the Seventeen as a mark of their satisfaction with the manner in which the government of the colony had been administered by his father—despite sundry differences of opinion between them. He landed at the Cape on January 23, 1699, and was received in state by the retiring Governor, the Chief Merchant—the Sieur Samuel Elsevier—the Fiscal Johannes Blesius, and the members of the Council of Policy, with an escort of military burghers who conducted him to the Castle. A few days later he was solemnly

presented to the people by his father and sworn in as Governor.

His first care was for the Company's garden—that little plantation in the heart of Cape Town, from which has sprung the Union of South Africa. Within a few hours of landing he was at work on the pier which then ran out into the sea below the Castle, supervising the bringing ashore of the boxes of plants and trees which he had brought from Holland. Later on, his love of trees was to bring him into many conflicts with the farmers, when they left the young oaks to die through lack of care and water. A month after his arrival the Councillor-Extraordinary of India and Inspector of Cape Affairs, Daniel Heyns, landed and, together with the new Governor, went on a journey of investigation to False Bay, in the hope of finding a safe winter anchorage for the fleets. A raging south-easter met them, and though they sighted the bay, which had been named after Simon van der Stel, the road by land appeared to be inaccessible, being blocked by the headland between Kalk Bay and Fish Hoek through which a way was cut many years later.

Journey
to False
Bay.

The dispatches to the Company and the journal of the Council of Policy enable us to form a very accurate impression of the daily life of the settlement at this time, and of the actions of the men who administered its affairs. We see van der Stel writing to the King of Madagascar in Dutch and in Latin to ask for news of his brother Cornelis, in the vain hope that castaways from the *Ridderschap* had landed on the island. We also read his request to the same potentate that he will permit the Company's officers to purchase slaves and aid them with 'good advice and assistance' on the subject. We look over his shoulder when he writes to

Landdrost Ditmars of Stellenbosch, instructing him to send wagons to Rondebosch to convey 20,000 young oaks to Stellenbosch and Drakenstein; also to see to it that the sheep are shorn at the proper time, so that a large quantity of wool may be sent to Holland. These instructions regarding wool are repeated two months later, as the vision of a wool-producing country begins to rise before the Governor's eyes. We lament with him over the wrecked harvest, when rain and cold were succeeded by parching winds and 'the caterpillars, which had never been seen here before, destroyed all the ears of rye'.

1700.
The
Land of
Waveren
colonized.

We see with him the fair dream of the expansion of the country take visible shape as he rides over the Roodezand Pass into a wide and arable valley, which he names the Land of Waveren—we know it as Tulbagh to-day—and which inspires him to write to the Seventeen that he would like some of the colonists to proceed up-country for seventeen or eighteen leagues, in order that they may settle on the land, and leave children to possess it.

'Consequently, under the blessing of God, the Cape will grow by the increase of its own people, who, not knowing another fatherland, will not do as the majority of people who come out, and who, when they have managed to scrape together something, then depart.'

We note his efforts to suppress the smuggling of brandy and other strong drink into the Castle and town, to the loss of the lessee who had bought the licence by which it was permitted to sell wine retail, and the demoralization of the soldiers, townsfolk, and slaves.

We read of how, in 1700, the Commissioner Wouter Valkenier arrived as the Company's representative, and

of his decision to give the meat contract to the well-to-do butcher Henning Huysing, who had formerly been a shepherd at Hamburg, had married a servant out of Simon van der Stel's house, and had attained considerable wealth and influence. He owned 540 morgen of land on the Eerste River, on which he was then building the fine house of Meerlust, he had considerable property in Cape Town and wide grazing rights for his cattle in the Blaauwberg district.

To the Governor, Valkenier granted 400 morgen of land in the Hottentots' Holland, in accordance with the recommendation made some years earlier by the Lord of Mydrecht to the effect that the Company's officials should be encouraged to own and cultivate land. Here he built his house of Vergelegen—smaller than Huysing's Meerlust, as comparison of the two to-day will show.

There is a tempting reference in the Journal of this day to the pirates who hung about the Cape coast, but we must pass it by and picture the company which gathered in the Heerengracht on the 28th of December, 1700, when the Governor laid the foundation-stone of the dignified, gabled church which was completed a few years later—the earlier foundations had been found to be too small. In this church were laid to rest many notable men—Simon van der Stel, Olof Bergh, Johannes Blesius, Ryk Tulbagh, and many another; it is to be deplored that their tombstones were destroyed and their armorial hatchments taken down when the present church was built on van der Stel's foundations. Only the tower and some of the walls of his church remain.

For a few years van der Stel carried on his policy of expansion of the country and of its industries, the wool industry in particular. His activities eventually brought him into conflict with certain of the wine-farmers, and

The conspiracy
against
van der
Stel.

particularly with Henning Huysing, who conspired against him, and, with the aid of his nephew, Adam Tas, drew up a petition to the Seventeen containing a series of charges against the Governor's administration. There is no space to enter into the controversy here, save to note that the Rev. H. V. C. Leibbrandt, who was for thirty years Keeper of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, and had special facilities for studying this period of Cape history, has recorded his conviction that not one of the charges will bear the light of investigation. Any who wish to pursue the matter further may read van der Stel's own defence, translated by Mr. Leibbrandt, or the Diary of Adam Tas, which, though written by one of the conspirators against van der Stel and edited in an adverse spirit to him, is an eloquent testimony to the low moral standard of the men who were his enemies two hundred years ago.¹

The
charges
against
him.

One of the main charges was that the Governor had, 'about twelve hours distant from the Cape a country seat, large beyond measure, and of such dimensions as if it were a whole town. Besides that, he possesses very many lands on whose area at least fifty farmers would be able to earn their living.'

When we remember that this was the 400 morgen of land granted by Valkenier, on which a house containing 'six apartments or rooms, a kitchen and a small provision-cellar, without any other apartments or storeys' had been built by the Governor, we can enter fully into his expectation that the Seventeen would treat the charges with the contempt which they merited. To his

¹ When examined on March 3, 1706, before a commission of burghers, Adam Tas withdrew all his abuse of van der Stel in his diary, stating that he was 'sorry for it from the bottom of his heart that he wrote and put it down, and that it was done in a fit of mad passion'. His regret came too late.

grief and dismay, however, the Company accepted the statements made by Huysing, Tas, and their friends. Regardless of a counter-petition, signed by three times as many burghers as signed the charges against van der Stel, the Directors recalled him, gave orders that his 'ostentatious' house should be broken down, and decreed that in future no Company's official should own land at the Cape.

The recall
of van der
Stel.

It is a pitiful tale. That his dreams were in excess of the Company's requirement cannot be denied. The Directors asked nothing more of the land than that it should supply the passing fleets with an amount of vegetables, meat, and water, grow a little wool for the fatherland, and send corn and wine to Batavia.

To Willem Adriaan van der Stel the land had a greater future than this—that land which he had grown to love so dearly that he prayed, though vainly, to be allowed to end his days there 'as a forgotten burgher'.

It was a clash of ideals, and there are those to this day who uphold the Directors; but the man who went down before the overwhelming forces opposed to him has to his credit the testimony of the majority of the burghers of his day that he was

'a man of all honour and virtue in his whole conduct, intercourse, and treatment. That he always set, and always has set, a splendid example of modesty, of zeal for the public welfare, of religion in the Christian form. Further, that he is affable towards every one in listening and in granting audience, and finally that he is of a very kind and gentle nature. During the time of his presence and government here he has conducted himself always as a peace-loving, just, and faithful chief towards the Lords his Masters, and in the interests of the people. He has done right and justice to all, protected the good and punished the evil.'

Sic itur ad astra.

CHAPTER VII

THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Com-
pany's
policy.

AND now fell upon the country a period of profound dullness. The decree that no Company's officer might own land at the Cape was the outcome of a short-sighted policy, though in accord with the views of the Directors in their limitations regarding the future of the settlement. They spared no words to make it clear that what they wanted was a provision station and nothing but a provision station, and that there was no place in their councils for men with wider aims.

So the van der Stels were followed by a series of more or less worthy mediocrities, and as none of them had any stake in the land they were not required to love it, and there was no particular reason for their being anything but mere officials.

They all served the Company according to their lights, drew their pay during their term of office, and went on unregretted to the East or back to Holland. The ships were well supplied with meat and vegetables, the shareholders of the East India Company drew large dividends, and everybody was pleased. But the divine spark had died down, that sacred fire of enthusiasm which had inspired the men who loved the Cape and served her with fervour. Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, Paarl, and the Land of Waveren had been colonized in a spirit of enthusiasm—when we come to the founding of Swellendam we shall see that that spirit had vanished and that the expansion of the colony was

Beginning of the Eighteenth Century 67

henceforward chiefly due to restlessness and the dissatisfaction against the Government felt by many of the farmers.

During the temporary administration of the Secunde d'Ableing, pending the arrival of van der Stel's successor, Louis van Assenburgh, the conditions of discord in the settlement were increased by the influence of a quarrelsome minister, the Reverend François le Boucq. He had been sent from Batavia on the suspension from office of the Minister Peter Kalden, who, with the Secunde Elsevier, had shared the sentence of banishment, both being friends of van der Stel. Throwing himself into the prevailing discord, le Boucq preached a bitter sermon against the ex-governor, declaimed violently against the Council of Policy, and brought an action against Minister Kalden (which he lost)—making life in general so unpleasant for every one that the Council suspended him from office, and he was finally sent back to Batavia. Here a solitary note of goodness and kindness sounds above the clash and discord, for Peter Kalden, who had not yet sailed, put his own grievances aside and conducted the services in the Groote Kerk for love of the people—including those who had contributed to his ruin. Discord.

On the 28th of January, 1708, Louis van Assenburgh landed, and was sworn in as Governor. He had been a brave soldier in his youth, but was now a lover of ease and the good things of this life. He was content to be the mere mouthpiece of the Seventeen, and to let the farmers carry on their farming as seemed best in their own eyes, indifferent to the effect on the country if only there were sufficient supplies for the passing ships. It was without doubt a more popular way than that adopted by the van der Stels, but it has left no mark 1708.
Louis van
Assen-
burgh.

on the history of South Africa. During his administration Mauritius was finally abandoned by the Dutch, and the French took possession of the island, holding it until 1810, when it became part of the British dominions.



THE KOOPMANS-DE WET HOUSE

1710.
Great
fire at
Stellen-
bosch.

On the 17th of December, 1710, a fire destroyed a great part of Stellenbosch. The thatch of the Drostdy caught fire, and the high wind that was blowing carried the flames and burning thatch to the adjoining houses. In a short time the Drostdy church and twelve private

Beginning of the Eighteenth Century 69

houses were destroyed, and from this time onward many houses were built on more or less classical lines, with flat roofs (and sometimes with decorated architraves), the flat roofs being less dangerous than thatch. In the same year we find the small beginning of the town which was afterwards known as Caledon—the hot spring, already found efficacious in the cure of rheumatism, being granted to Ferdinand Appel with twelve morgen of land in freehold. He built baths and a lodging-house where the present sanatorium stands.

Sundry regulations regarding slavery were made during van Assenburgh's administration, but there is little of real importance to mark it. He rarely left the Castle, where he was in the habit of entertaining the principal burghers and their wives on New Year's Day and his birthday, and where on one memorable Sunday afternoon his guests were invited to witness a miniature bull-fight in the Castle square—the matadors and picadors of the Spanish bull-ring being replaced by dogs.

There is no record of any special regret when van Assenburgh died after a short illness at the end of 1711, but the occasion was made use of by the van der Stels' enemies, who accused old Simon van der Stel of having given him poison in a glass of wine on a visit to Constantia. The falsehood of the charge was easily proved, and it is only worth mentioning as an illustration of the curious bitterness with which the hostility was pursued, even after the triumph of the Huysing-Tas faction.

Van Assenburgh was followed by Willem Helot, the Secunde, who filled the office of acting-governor until March, 1714, and, two months later, was suspended from the office of Secunde for appropriating the Company's property to his own use. He was sent to the Nether-

1711.
Death of
van
Assen-
burgh.

1711.
Willem
Helot.

Small-pox
outbreak.

lands without salary and stripped of his rank. During his administration a terrible calamity fell upon the Cape. Small-pox, which was introduced from India, swept away hundreds of people, the slave lodge being the first point attacked, owing to infected clothing from a ship being sent there for washing, and nearly two hundred slaves died. Many Hottentot tribes were literally wiped out of existence, and from that time onward they ceased to be anything but the broken remnant of a people, content to serve the white man for a pittance. The Europeans, too, suffered heavily. It is computed that nearly one-fourth of the townsfolk perished, though in the country districts the toll was not so heavy.

1714.
de Cha-
vannes.

In March, 1714, the new Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel Maurits Pasques de Chavannes, arrived, and for ten years he administered Cape affairs quietly and sensibly, if without any particular enthusiasm. His term of office was marked by the building of a new church at Stellenbosch, and a disastrous shipwreck, in which six Company's ships and three English East Indiamen were cast ashore in Table Bay in a terrible gale, with a loss of six hundred and sixty lives.

1716.
The
Slavery
Debate.

One great opportunity came to him, but he did not take it. In 1716 the Seventeen debated the merits of white labour as opposed to slave service, and consulted the Governor and Council of Policy at the Cape as to the advisability of sending out European labourers who should take the place of the slaves in cultivating the ground. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this question to South Africa. Had wisdom guided the men in whose hands the decision was placed, had the importation of slaves ceased, she would not be faced to-day with the problem of her large half-caste population, and her people would have been freed from the

Beginning of the Eighteenth Century 71

paralysing, enervating influence of slavery. If the white men had been hewers of wood and drawers of water, it would have been better for them and for the land, but there was only one man at the Council table wise enough to foresee this. Dominique de Chavonnes, the Governor's brother and Captain of the *Garrison*, spoke boldly in favour of free white labour. Slavery in a land, he said, was like a malignant sore in the human frame, and could only lead to trouble—but his was a voice crying in the wilderness, and nobody paid any attention to his views, every one else being in favour of the continuance of slave labour.

In these days of successful tobacco culture it is curious to read that an expert, sent out from Holland to examine the soil for this purpose, sent home an adverse report, and an experiment which was made at Rondebosch was pronounced a failure. The same fate overtook olive-growing—in spite of the fact that van Riebeeck had left at Boscheuvel, near Wynberg, an olive-tree breaking under the weight of fruit, and that to-day the olive is grown with success at the Paarl. An experiment in indigo, made at this time, also failed, while the Cape wool sent to Amsterdam in 1716 was pronounced so inferior as to be unsaleable, in contrast to the good wool grown by van der Stel at Vergelegen ten years earlier. It is a curious commentary on the manner in which farming had gone back since the Company's officials—who were as a rule men of greater education and experience than the farmers—had been forbidden to hold land or to farm.

In 1720 the Dutch East India Company sent an expedition to take possession of Delagoa Bay, an inlet of the Indian Ocean on the east coast of Africa, which had been discovered in 1502 by Antonio do Campo, who

Delagoa
Bay.

commanded one of the ships of Vasco da Gama's second expedition to India. The Company built a fort and factory where Lorenzo Marques now stands, but the unhealthy conditions then prevalent rendered the place almost impossible as a residence for Europeans, and in 1730 it was abandoned.

1727.
Governor
Noodt.

De Chavonnes died on September 8, 1724, and was buried in the Groote Kerk with great pomp and ceremony, as his predecessor had been. The Secunde, Jan de la Fontaine, was appointed acting-governor, and held the office until the arrival of Pieter Gysbert Noodt in 1727. Noodt is the boggy-man of South African history. We are still shown the chair in which, according to the story usually told, he died suddenly at the moment in which four young men whom he had unjustly condemned to death were hanged on the place of execution outside the Castle gate. It is said that the leader of the four, turning towards the Government House in the gardens, where the Governor was, cried: 'Governor Noodt, I summon thee before the judgement seat of the all-seeing God, there to answer for the souls of myself and of my companions.'

The Governor was found dead in his chair when the officials went to report to him that the executions had taken place. To this, as to many other stories, there are two sides—the one I have given, which was written down from hearsay some years later, and the official report of the Court of Justice, which describes the executions as just, according to the severe laws of the times, when torture was frequently applied and death was the punishment for offences which do not sound to our ears very desperate. In any case, Governor Noodt died suddenly on the day of the executions, sitting in his chair, and, like those who preceded him, was buried in

Beginning of the Eighteenth Century 73

the Groote Kerk, though apparently with even less regret.

He was a man of an unpleasant disposition, jealous of the Secunde Jan de la Fontaine, ill-tempered and conceited, and his wife owned the uninspiring name of Johanna Drabbe. That is practically all that need be recorded of Pieter Noodt as Governor. During the administration of de Chavonnes he had visited the Cape in the capacity of Director-General of Fortifications in the East Indies, and had drawn up the plans of the Mauritius battery near the present Cape Town docks. His visit had been marked by petty quarrels with the Secunde Cranendonk regarding questions of precedence. It all sounds very absurd—the disputes as to whose wife should sit in the front seat in church, whose carriage should make way for whose, and so forth—but to the disputants it was very real. A small fish in a small pool has more leisure in which to think of his own importance in the scheme of the universe than a whale has in mid-ocean.

After the death of Noodt the vacant post was assigned to Jan de la Fontaine, and a very good governor he made within the limits accorded to him by the then weakening power of the Dutch East India Company. To understand why this once great Company had weakened, we must glance for a moment at other countries and realize the growing colonial expansion of England and France, which gradually drove the Dutch from the mainland of Asia, though the Company long held firmly to the Cape of Good Hope and the great islands of the Malay Archipelago. To retain these possessions entailed a great military and naval burden. Where the Company's fleets had once sailed the Eastern seas fearless of rivals, they now needed protection and

The
weaken-
ing of the
Company.

heavy armament. The Directors at home were accused of corruption and indifference to the interests of the Netherlands, so long as their own revenue was assured, while in the Far East the officials amassed vast fortunes, not always with spotless hands, and ruled in whatever manner seemed good in their own eyes.

At the Cape the heart had been taken out of the administration by the policy which had left the officials no lot or stake in the land, while the burghers were chafing under numerous small tyrannies on the part of the Company and were, on the outskirts of the colony, breaking away from control and surveillance.

Jan de la Fontaine administered the affairs of the Company honestly until 1730, when he retired to the Netherlands and was succeeded by Adriaan van Kervel, who died three weeks after taking up office, and slept, with many another old governor, under the pavement of the church in the Heerengracht.

Daniel van der Henghel, the Fiscal, was appointed in his place, but ruled the turbulent elements in the colony so ill that nineteen months later he was degraded to his former office, and Hendrik Swellengrebel, the Secunde, was installed as Governor, with Ryk Tulbagh as Secunde.

All this makes rather dull reading, but it has to be written if we would understand what has gone to the making of South Africa.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GOVERNMENTS OF SWELLENGREBEL AND TULBAGH

THE new Governor, Hendrik Swellengrebel, came, as 1732.
van Riebeeck and the van der Stels had come, of Hendrik
a family which had served the Dutch East India Com- Swellen-
pany in its far-off possessions. His father, Johannes grebel.
Swellengrebel, was born at Moscow—it is curious to
note in passing how few of the early Cape colonists
were actually of Dutch stock. If it takes all sorts to
make a world, it has taken many nations to make the
South African people of to-day. Johannes Swellengrebel
did his best to obliterate his Russian origin by marrying
three Dutch wives in succession, and his four children
were born in Cape Town, where he was a clerk at the
Castle. The eldest son, Hendrik, married his cousin,
Helena ten Damme; his sister, Elizabeth, became the
wife of Ryk Tulbagh, and a younger sister married the
Reverend François le Sueur.

If we may turn aside from history for a moment, it is
interesting to note the side-light cast on Cape society
a couple of centuries ago by records in the archives
concerning the wife of Sergius Swellengrebel, a cousin
of the Governor, who eventually became Secunde. She
was an Englishwoman, Anna Fothergill by name, and
brought with her to the Cape a wardrobe of wonderful
dimensions. In her will, by which these clothes were
divided between her sister and her sister-in-law, we read
of silk gowns with fringes, white satin embroidered
gowns with aprons, a blue satin gown with gay flowers,
gowns of green and of brown silk, and of velvet and

The
wardrobe
of a lady
of quality.

chintz. There were 'rolls of Chinese pearl-coloured material' and of green velvet and gold fringe, gold embroidered neckerchiefs, lace caps and ruffles, fifteen fans, a red cloth mantle embroidered with silk, another of black velvet lined with 'blue Pelang', mantles of white flowered gauze and of 'white double taffeta', muffs, pearl necklaces, and earrings—there is not space to enumerate one-half of the fine things.

Perhaps this may seem out of place in a history, but it is of interest as marking the progress of civilization since van Riebeeck landed on the wild, uncultivated shore less than a century earlier. The *Secunde* had a house in the Castle, where probably all these fine gowns played their part in minuets and pavaues, for eighteenth-century Cape Town was very fond of dancing, especially on Sunday afternoons, as we learn from the records. We have also a very full account of Sergius Swellengrebel's wardrobe, from his 'blue coat shot with silver' to an amazing list of gold and silver buckles and seals and jewelled rings and down to his 'chintz night-gown'. They must have made a very fine couple indeed, and the rooms of their official residence in the Castle and their furnishing were probably in harmony with them. Enough of the furniture of that period is left to show us how beautiful it was, simple in outline and of good, honest workmanship. The fleets from the East brought an annual cargo of oriental china for domestic use; ebony and satinwood and rosewood came from Ceylon and the East Indies, the Cape forests supplied fine furniture woods, the Castle armourer hammered out the lovely brass komvoors and cuspidors which we treasure to-day.

The old
furniture
of the
Cape.

To the graceful furniture which was the every-day possession of Cape houses of that period we must add

the Swellengrebel plenishings of silver trays, coffee-pots, candlesticks, snuffers, kettles and jugs by the score, of vast stores of fine table linen, of books, pictures, and statues referred to in the will. It all indicates a very high level of comfort and luxury.

If I have touched on this aspect of life at the Cape two centuries ago, it is because it is interesting to turn sometimes from the records of public men and their actions, which figure in history, and consider the private life of the generation which produced them. The old Castle of the Cape of Good Hope is haunted by many memories of the men and women who lived and were merry or sad within its walls, and amongst these move the sumptuous figures of Sergius and Anna Swellengrebel.

The administration of Hendrik Swellengrebel is chiefly associated with the establishment of the new district of Swellendam and the foundation of the town of that name, so called in honour of the Governor and his wife, Helena ten Damme. How the new district came to be colonized we shall see in the next chapter. He was an honest and painstaking administrator, though not remarkable for ability—indeed it is doubtful whether ability was a quality much sought after by the Directors at this period, an honest man who could be trusted to govern the colony prudently and economically being all that was needed. The vision of expansion, as seen by the van der Stels, had aroused no enthusiasm in the minds of the Seventeen, to whom the Cape was still only the half-way house to the rich East. The formation of new districts, such as Swellendam and Graaff Reinet, was now to be the work of the colonists themselves. When a forward movement had taken place the Company followed in its wake and brought the new lands under the law, but with little interest.

1743.
Church
built in
Land of
Waveren.

Two churches were built in outlying districts at this time ; for though the colony was fast expanding, there were still only the three churches of Cape Town, Stellenbosch and the Paarl, and the children of the more remote settlers were growing up without religious or secular education. The first new church was built in the Land of Waveren, the fertile valley into which Willem Adriaan van der Stel had ridden over the Roodezand Pass. Here, in 1743, at a spot accessible to the farmers of Riebeeck's Casteel, the Hex and Breede River valleys and the Cold and Warm Bokkeveld, in the hamlet which has grown into the present town of Tulbagh, rose the walls of a singularly beautiful little church with curved white gables, and near by was built a pleasant parsonage set within a vineyard.

'Rondom Ierusalem syn bergen', runs the motto on the old seal of Waveren Church. It is easy to believe that when the first minister, Arnoldus Maurits Meyring, lifted his eyes to the blue mountains which ring in the valley, his thoughts turned to the hills which lie round about Jerusalem. Church and parsonage still remain, but modern Tulbagh has built itself a larger and less lovely place of worship.

The second church was built in the wheat-producing district of Zwartland, and round it has grown the town which in 1829 received the name of Malmesbury.

The Lu-
therans.

At the same time the Lutherans, who formed a considerable proportion of the population, desired to have a church and minister of their own, but this was not permitted by the Company—any more than the Huguenots of a generation earlier had been allowed their own church and pastor. The Dutch Reformed Church held firmly to its position as the only church of the land, and those who did not belong to its fold found no other in which to shelter.

The same limitation attended the work of the Moravian missionary, George Schmidt, who arrived at the Cape in 1737, having been granted a free passage as a teacher to the Hottentots. He established his mission station at Baviaan's Kloof, now known as Genadendal, beyond the hot springs of Caledon, and here he laboured for five years at his difficult task, teaching the little yellow folk the rudiments of Christianity and endeavouring to inspire them with the hitherto unknown virtues of truthfulness, cleanliness, and industry. At the end of five years he considered that five of his flock were sufficiently well grounded to receive baptism, and accordingly administered the rite. Whereupon arose a mighty storm of protest, and the Council of Policy decreed that he might continue his missionary efforts, but must henceforth take his converts to the nearest Dutch Reformed minister for baptism. Representations were made to the Hottentots by sundry zealous, but not very wide-minded, people, to the effect that Schmidt's teaching was contrary to that of the Bible, whereupon many of them left the mission—probably not comprehending the drift of the accusation, but glad to shake off the irksome trammels of civilization and return to their wallow in the mire. Schmidt felt his position untenable after the Council's decision, and returned sadly to Europe. It was not until 1791 that a more liberal policy prevailed, and the Moravian Society was permitted to send out three missionaries, who revived the good work of George Schmidt and re-established the mission at Genadendal, which has continued its labours among the coloured people to this day.

In 1743 Baron Gustaf Willem van Imhoff, the newly appointed Governor-General of the Dutch East India Company, arrived at the Cape on his way to Batavia.

The
Moravian
Mission.

1743.
Baron van
Imhoff.



BARON VAN IMHOFF

He inspected the country districts, approved of the erection of the two new churches, and ordered that a 'sick-comforter', who should also be a schoolmaster, should be attached to each church. Education was fast falling to a low ebb, as we know from the reports of passing travellers. The children of French parents knew nothing of the polished tongue of their ancestors. The farmers of the outlying districts had left behind them every book except the Bible, and their children were growing up illiterate and untaught, their language in course of being reduced to the barest elements of speech, with a plentiful sprinkling of words borrowed from the Indian and Malay slaves or from the natives of the land.

Van Imhoff made a valiant effort to raise the standard of education, but it was fighting against heavy odds. The great distances which in the more remote districts separated the farmers from church and schoolmaster, and even from each other, rendered it inevitable that their children should grow to manhood with little book-learning, though with sturdy, manly qualities won from their hard fight with nature and the incessant dangers from the natives around them. Their religion remained that form of Calvinism which they had taken into the wilderness with them. Again, we must understand these things if we would realize what has gone to the making of South Africa.

A small station was founded by van Imhoff at Simon's Bay, off which ships might lie during the winter months—the season which had seen many terrible wrecks in Table Bay. He also revised the game laws, placed on a better basis the conditions by which the Company purchased the produce grown by the burghers, and made many other improvements. He was a far-sighted

Simons-
town
founded.

man, and one of the few who observed the evil effect which slavery had already produced on the Cape, and dreaded its effect in the future. His views were embodied in a memorandum to the Seventeen, but produced no effect.

On the whole, the most important events of the Swellengrebel administration, if we except the founding of Swellendam, were associated with van Imhoff. But the Governor is responsible for improvements in the fortifications and for the building of a battery below the Castle, which bore van Imhoff's name until a few years ago, when it was pulled down to make way for the railway. In 1744 Swellengrebel was raised to the rank of Councillor-Extraordinary of the East India Company as a mark of the approval of the Company with his administration, and in 1750 he was permitted to retire at his own request.

1750.
Ryk Tul-
bagh as
Governor.

He was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Ryk Tulbagh, in accordance with the wish of the Council of Policy. Tulbagh was no stranger to the Cape. Thirty-two years earlier he had landed there, a boy of seventeen, under an agreement to serve the Company for five years in whatever capacity he should be required to do so. Even at that early age the fine character which was to endear him to the hearts of the people made itself felt; diligent and studious, generous and candid, giving his best in the service of the Company, his merit was quickly recognized by Governor de Chavonnes, who appointed him assistant-clerk to the Secretary of the Council of Policy.

From this modest starting-point the boy rose steadily, growing in favour with God and man. In April 1739 he became Secunde and Senior Merchant, having filled the intervening offices with credit, and in 1751 he was

appointed to succeed Swellengrebel as Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.

It was not an easy place to govern in those days—no easier than it was before or has been since, and needed an administrator of the utmost integrity. Only a man gifted with unusual tact and wisdom could have dealt well with many of the problems which presented themselves.

Tulbagh's administration was not marked by any stirring events. As we have seen, the power of the Dutch East India Company was waning, and so far from being in a position to develop its over-seas possessions, it was weighed down by a war tax levied by the States-General on all the inhabitants of the United Provinces, which, it was further decided, should be paid by all Europeans living within the Company's jurisdiction. For twenty years he ruled wisely and well, and we have a pleasant picture of him in his old age, drawn by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, the author of *Paul et Virginie*, who called at the Cape in 1771.

'The Governor himself', he writes, 'is so respected and beloved that the inhabitants do not even pass his door without showing some mark or other of their respect. He gives no public entertainments, but his purse is always open for the service of worthy and indigent people. They need pay no court to him. If they seek for justice they obtain it of the Council; if succour, this he takes upon himself as a duty. . . . He frequently invites strangers to his table. Although more than eighty years old, his conversation is lively. He is acquainted with most of our works of genius, and is fond of them. Of all the Frenchmen he has seen, he chiefly regrets the Abbé de la Caille, for whom he built an observatory here.'

The Abbé Nicolas de la Caille was a well-known French astronomer, who spent two years at the Cape, The Abbé
de la
Caille.

from 1751 to 1753, for the purpose of measuring an arc of the meridian and making a siderial chart of the southern heavens. The point from which his triangulation extended to Piquetberg was in a house at the bottom of Strand Street, recently pulled down to make way for shops.

1755.
Terrible
epidemic
of small-
pox.

In 1755 small-pox ravaged the country, as it had done in 1715, but with even greater malignity. More than a thousand people died in Cape Town—indeed, practically every one who took the disease. There were no public meetings, no training of the militia, no one went to church—it reads like an account of the Great Plague in the pages of Boccaccio. The slaves suffered severely, as was only to be expected from the crowded condition of the Slave Lodge, and, spreading inland, the disease worked great havoc. Owing to the enormous loss of life, a new burial-ground was opened in the present Somerset Road.

The Lutheran
church.

From Ryk Tulbagh's time dates one of the finest old buildings left to Cape Town, the Burgher Watch House in Greenmarket Square, built at the expense of the people, not of the Company, and now chosen as the home of the collection of Dutch paintings which were collected by Sir Hugh Lane and have been given to South Africa by Mr. Michaelis. At that time, too, many large buildings were erected at Simonstown, including a large hospital—now used as barracks—and the residence of the officer in charge. The Lutheran church was built at this time by Martin Melck, a burgher who had arrived in the colony in 1746, and the owner of the fine farm of Elsenburg, once the property of Elsevier. The Company, as we have noted, would not permit the establishment of any church but the Dutch Reformed, and though the Governor, of necessity, upheld their

views, this did not stand in the way of his close friendship with Melck. Dining with the latter one day the Governor said :

‘ Melck, I see the walls of your big “store” rising fast, and the pointed windows look uncommonly like those of a church, but depend upon it, while I have got one eye to see with, no Lutheran church will be allowed here.’

The church was built, but no Lutheran minister was appointed until after Tulbagh’s death. The pulpit and



THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

much of the decoration is the work of Anthon Anreith, a sculptor of great genius who had come to the Cape in the Company’s service, and whose work may be seen at its finest in the singularly beautiful frieze, moulded in high relief, over the wine-cellar at Groot Constantia.

To Tulbagh’s time belong the *Pracht en Praal*—the Pomp and Magnificence—regulations. As we have seen earlier, the Company’s officials in the East frequently amassed great fortunes, not always by means which would bear the strictest scrutiny. In consequence of this vast wealth, excessive luxury prevailed in the East

The
Pracht en
Prael
regula-
tions.

Indies, and there was no white man so poor but that he had his slaves to wait on him. In alarm at the growing tendency towards general ease and slackness, fostered by luxurious living, the Seventeen issued this set of sumptuary laws, and orders were sent to the Cape to the effect that they should be put in practice there also—to the profound satisfaction of Ryk Tulbagh, who led a simple and abstemious life and was deeply concerned at the tendency towards indolence which slave-labour had produced amongst the people of the Cape. He amended the regulations so that they should be suitable to the conditions of the colony, but it was clear that they could not be of much effect so long as they did not go to the root of the evil.

The Des-
sinian
collection
of books.

The Public Library of Cape Town had its beginning at this time, its foundation being a collection of books bequeathed in 1761 by Joachim Nicolaas van Dessin, secretary to the Orphan Chamber, and retained in the present library which was founded by Lord Charles Somerset.

Andrew
Sparrman.

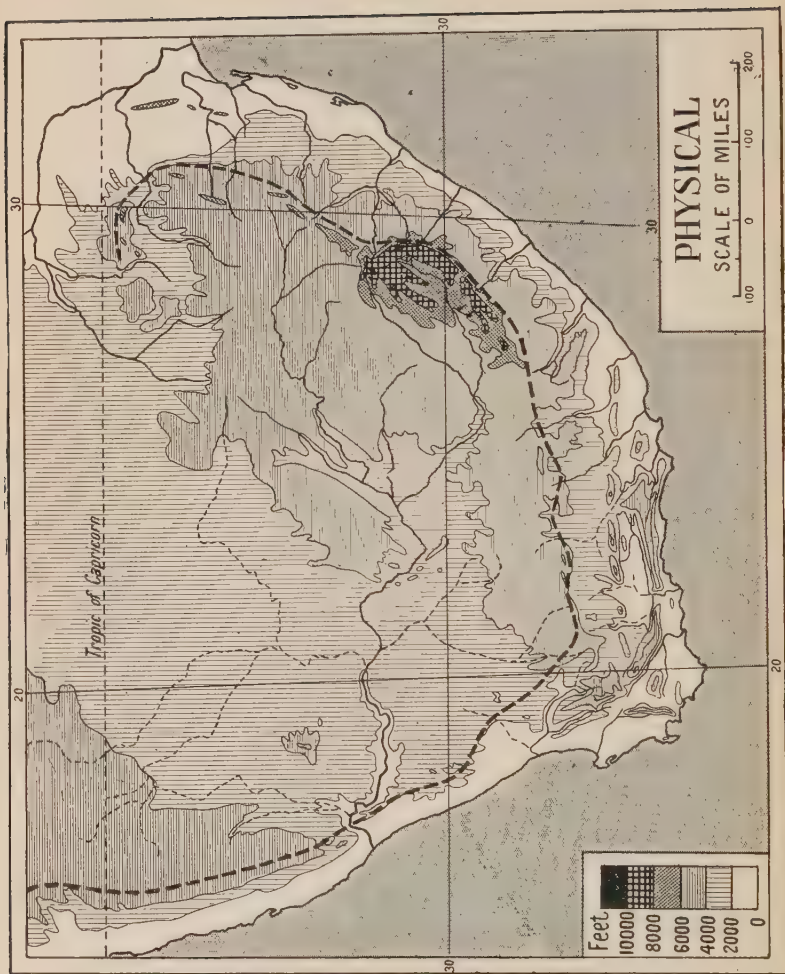
We have a description of Cape Town in Tulbagh's day from the pen of Andrew Sparrman, a learned Swedish naturalist and physician, who paid two visits to the Cape. The town, he says, had wide, unpaved streets planted with oaks, handsome two-storied houses, the greater part stuccoed and whitewashed outside, but some painted green. The Governor's residence was in the gardens—the present Government House—and he speaks of the pleasant shade given by the trees in the gardens and of the menagerie at the upper end. This menagerie was on the ground now occupied by the South African College.

1771.
Death of
Tulbagh.

As we have seen, no great events marked Ryk Tulbagh's rule, but when he died in August 1771 he left

behind him a sorrowing people and the record of an untarnished name. With Simon van der Stel and many another worthy he was buried in the Groote Kerk in the Heerengracht, and it is grievous to have to record that all trace of their resting-places was destroyed when the original church was broken down for alterations in 1836.

Tulbagh was succeeded by Joachim van Plettenberg—but we must now go back a few years and trace that expansion of the colony to which reference has been made.



CHAPTER IX

THE EASTWARD EXPANSION

IN every new country there is found a certain restless element in the population, the men who have gone forth from their own lands, driven by the desire to escape from the restraints imposed by law and civilization ; and these elements were not wanting in the Company's servants who had become free burghers and were farming the land beyond the Cape peninsula, which had been colonized by the van der Stels. As the quality of the officials who represented the Company seemed at first to have deteriorated with the decree which set them aside from all personal interest in the development of the country, so the policy of the Company grew more narrow with its weakening power, and burghers and farmers chafed under various petty tyrannies.

The
wander-
fever.

To these two causes we may ascribe the movement which caused a number of the colonists to break away from civilization and protection and make their way into the comparatively unknown and savage land which lay beyond the borders of the settlement.

We see the beginning of this wander-fever early in the eighteenth century, when from the Hottentots' Holland many families trekked over the mountains in an eastward direction, while from the Land of Waveren others made their way in the same direction down the Breede River, settling wherever well-watered and arable sites were to be found. So wild and remote was the country in which all these emigrants found themselves

that each man took freely as much land as seemed good in his own eyes, paying to the Government—when he paid anything at all—a nominal yearly rental of £2 10s., which was doubled in 1732. By the year 1745 the number of white people in the district had reached a total of over 5,000; and the Council of Policy agreed to separate it from the jurisdiction of Stellenbosch, it having become too large and scattered to be



EARLY CHURCH AT SWELLENDAM

Swellen-
dam
founded,
1745.

administered by that magistracy. The new division was named Swellendam, in honour of the Governor, Hendrik Swellengrebel, and Johannes Rhenius was appointed the first Landdrost. A Drostdy was built on rich land near the Cornlands River, trees were planted, and round the Drostdy sprang up the thatched and gabled houses of well-to-do burghers—the nucleus of the present town of Swellendam.

But the spirit of restlessness was not laid by these things. The trek-fever had filled the veins of many of the people, they had tasted the sweets of liberty, of

freedom from officialdom and from the restraints of civilization. Moreover, the tax-collector was abroad in the land, for the rents of many of these fine large farms which had been taken up so easily was overdue. The world lay before them, a world in which there were no taxes and no laws, and out into it they went with their wagons and cattle, their wives and their children, rarely sleeping under a roof, and moving from one pasture to another, despite the strict prohibitions against their migration issued by the alarmed government.

To understand what South Africa is to-day we need to comprehend these people, to understand the causes which shut them off from the spirit of progress and set them apart from the rest of the world. Out into the unknown they went, then, leaving civilization behind them, growing silent as men grow who have no one with whom to talk and nothing particular to talk about, the Bible and psalm-book their only literature, education regarded as a work of supererogation. Untaught and unlearned, but with a certain dignity of their own and a magnificent physique, the day of the trek-Boer had dawned. Over the hills and plains they passed with their flocks and herds, singing their psalms at night and morning and taking the law into their own hands in their dealings with their slaves and with the marauding little Bushmen—a law unto themselves.

The
trek-
Boer.

Before long the necessity arose for banding themselves together against the common foe, the little cattle-lifters, who resented being dispossessed of their lands by the trek-Boer, and took their revenge on the invaders. The Commando system had its origin in the need for presenting a united front for purposes of attack or defence, and soon the necessity arose for the better organization of these commandoes—for at any moment

the men over a widely spread area were liable to be called out to repel a raid or conduct a punitive expedition, leaving their women and children exposed to frightful dangers. And not punitive expeditions only, for again and again armed parties went out and shot down the Bushmen in hundreds, under the influence of dread and terror, and sustained by the curious conviction that the Bushman was barely human. We cannot defend the shooting down of the original inhabitants of the land, but we must make some allowance for the conditions under which these Boers lived.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, though many of them still lived a nomadic life, wandering with their flocks from pasture to pasture, others had settled down on stock farms.

To bring these adventurous Boers within reach of the law the Company's boundaries had been extended as far east as the Gamtoos River and the Brintjes Hoogte Mountains, and in 1771 one of the trek-Boers named Willem Prinsloo received permission from the Council to choose two farms to the west of this limit. Laws and boundaries, however, meant as little for Willem Prinsloo as they had meant to the men who had trekked from the pleasant Land of Waveren into the unknown wilderness fifty years earlier, and he established himself in the Boschberg, on the site of the present town of Somerset East, far beyond the permitted limits. Others followed him, and the Government, which was not sufficiently powerful to restrain them, had no other alternative than to bring these unlicensed wanderers within the law by extending the eastern boundary of the colony to the Great Fish River. This was in July, 1775.

1771.
The
Bosch-
berg.

1778.
Van Plet-
tenberg's
journey to

In September, 1778, the Governor, van Plettenberg, set out on a journey to the eastern district. In March

of the same year a petition had been sent by a number of the Boers or farmers who had settled near the new border, asking that a church might be built and a landdrost's court established in the district. The petition was headed by Jan Kruger, Adriaan van Jaarsveld, Jan Adriaan Venter, and Jan Oosthuizen. Complaints of raids by Bushmen and by the Kaffirs who held the land beyond the Great Fish River were sent at the same time, and van Plettenberg determined to make a personal investigation into affairs in the remote part of South Africa in which the wandering Boers had settled.

It was a great expedition in those days, a journey to the far-off Great Fish River, which is now reached by train in a couple of days of leisurely steaming. Four months of preparation were needed so that the Landdrosts of Stellenbosch and Swellendam should have escorts and relays of oxen to take the Governor from one stage to another. With him went the Junior Merchant, Olof Gottlieb de Wet and various other officials, including Captain Robert Jacob Gordon, an officer of Scotch descent in the Company's service as second in command of the Cape Garrison, of whom we are to hear more later on.

They took with them seven ox-wagons and a number of riding horses. With the burgher escort which conveyed them from point to point it must have been an imposing procession as it passed through the Land of Waveren and over the Hex River Pass, crossing the

‘Pathless depths of the Great Karoo’

to the Sneeuwbergen, where the Governor and farmers met in council and discussed the troubles arising out of cattle-thefts on the part of the natives, and the need of the Boers for a church and Landdrost. Farmers and

Governor debated together on the defence of the district, not only against the Bushman and Kaffir but against the flotsam and jetsam of humanity which the wander-fever had carried eastward, together with the more peaceful wanderers. In every community there is a fringe on the garment of respectability, and many worthless individuals had drifted to the border, moved by no lever but the desire to escape from all restraints, and these were becoming a menace to the country.

After an attentive hearing the Governor passed on to a point near the present town of Colesberg, where a stone beacon bearing the Company's monogram and van Plettenberg's arms was set up to mark the north-eastern limit of the colony. Here they paused to rest and to hunt the hippopotamus in the river to which Captain Gordon gave the name of the Orange in honour of the Prince of Orange—the same river to which Simon van der Stel had given the name of *Vigiti Magna* and which had afterwards been called the Groote River.

From this point they turned southward, to the farm of Willem Prinsloo in the Boschberg, and here too they met the farmers and heard how their cattle had been raided by the Kaffirs, and that they too wanted a Landdrost and church. The result of the Governor's investigation was that he recommended the Seventeen to accede to the request of the frontier farmers, but the matter was allowed to stand aside for a few years longer.

From the Boschberg van Plettenberg followed the course of the Great Fish River to the sea coast, thence along the shore to Algoa Bay and over the Long Kloof to the Knysna and so to a little bay to which he gave his name, and where he set up a stone pillar which marks his journey to this day. It bears the arms of

the United Provinces of the Netherlands and of the Governor, and the Company's monogram. From this point he made his way back to Cape Town through Swellendam and the Hottentots' Holland.

And now across the seas came the news of the American Revolution, and the matter was eagerly discussed from one end of the colony to the other. We have seen that there was a restless section of the people to whom all law meant restraint of liberty, and the discussion seethed and bubbled freely among these people and in the houses of the more enlightened burghers of the towns who, in their turn, chafed under the rule of a Company which was fast growing weak at home and had long since become tyrannical in petty matters abroad.

The Governor and the Fiscal Willem Cornelis Boers, as the Company's representatives, became unpopular, and the latter was accused by the burghers of fraudulent conduct, oppression, and bribery on his own account. There were, however, two sides to the matter, for Dr. Theal speaks of him as being 'hospitable, diligent in his duties, fond of scientific pursuits. But his sympathies', he adds, 'were all with the ruling classes of society, and he felt and expressed supreme contempt for the colonists, who were to him simply unlettered peasants.'

Accusa-
tions
against
the
Governor
and
Fiscal.

This comment is a sidelight on the effect of absence of educational facilities on three or four generations of settlers, for no one would have applied such a term to van Riebeeck's free burghers, still less to the Huguenots of the seventeenth century.

South African history has a way of repeating itself—indeed at times it has almost seemed to go round in a vicious circle—and in 1779 four burghers proceeded to Holland to lay complaints of the administration

before the Seventeen. It differed, however, from the mission of the four who succeeded in influencing the Seventeen against van Stel in the fact that those were sent by the Governor himself, secure in his own integrity and over-confident in the justice and wisdom of the Directors.

Van Plettenberg's four laid the case of the colonists before the Assembly of Seventeen, and presented a memorial signed by 404 of the people, complaining of unjust acts on the part of the officials and stating that the colony was in a wretched condition. They received an attentive hearing, and a copy of the memorial was sent to the Cape for a reply on the part of the officials concerned, with a covering letter to the effect that the Company hoped that the differences would speedily be adjusted.

It was a pious hope and committed them to no course of action. There is a certain quality of dignity and firmness in van Plettenberg's reply—it is at least a more vertebrate document than that of the Directors. This is his statement, in brief.

He did not think that the memorial expressed the views of the majority of the burghers, as only 404 out of nearly 3,000 had signed it. The colonists were on the whole prosperous and not wretched.

The colonists in general preferred an indolent life to hard work, and were little more than overseers to their slaves and Hottentot labourers. Not a man of them would go forth as a sailor in the Company's fleets, nor would they work as mechanics or learn to teach. Education was in the hands of time-expired soldiers [and we know from passing travellers to what a low ebb it had fallen].

He considered that it would be unwise to increase

the representation of burghers in the Council of Policy, on the ground that all good done by the Council would then be attributed to these members and not to the Company. He was, however, in favour of the High Court of Justice being composed of an equal number of burghers and officials.

Finally—and this sounds oddly in our ears—he thought that it would place the higher officials in a more unassailable position if they were paid better salaries and the system of perquisites abolished. In conclusion he asked to be relieved of his duties. He had done nothing, he said, to draw upon himself the enmity of the colonists, but his position had been made difficult and matters could only be dealt with satisfactorily by a stranger.

The Fiscal Willem Cornelis Boers and the other officials to whom reference had been made in the memorial also drew up statements, which were sent to Holland, but long before an answer could be received, even before the letters had left the Cape, outward union was achieved by the receipt on March 31, 1781, of news of the outbreak of war between England and the Netherlands—the latter being in alliance with France. We must glance for a moment at the map of Europe to understand how this came about.

1781.
Outbreak
of war
between
England
and the
Nether-
lands.

In the American War of Independence, to which reference has been made, the sympathies of the Stadtholder were with England, those of the people—or at least of a growing majority who were opposed to the Prince of Orange and his wife, Frederica Wilhelmina of Prussia—were with the colonies which had revolted. As a consequence of the war Dutch and other neutral shipping suffered severely, and their commerce was threatened with heavy loss. To protect themselves,

the states of Europe banded together in an agreement called the ' Armed neutrality ', and the Netherlands, by a majority of four provinces against three, decided to join the opponents of England. This was the news which prompted officials and burghers at the Cape to close their ranks against dissension, for at least a time.

CHAPTER X

1781-1785

WE have seen in the last chapter that the burghers and Government had agreed to set aside their differences for the moment, in the face of the danger that an outbreak of war between England and Holland meant to the little colony at the foot of Africa. The frontier farmers, on receiving the news, expressed their willingness to take part in the defence of the country, but they were hampered by difficulties with the natives—Hottentots, Bushmen, and Kaffirs.

Preparations for defence.

Captain Gordon was now in command of the military forces, which the Company's declining strength had reduced to 530 soldiers—some of whom had taken service with the farmers—650 men in the Company's pay as mechanics, civil servants, or boatmen, and a corps of free blacks. The South African Militia was composed of nearly 3,000 burghers, but many of these were on the frontier, where, as will be remembered, they had formed commandoes for mutual protection against Kaffirs and Bushmen, and they were unable to leave their districts owing to the unsettled conditions. The Stellenbosch burghers, however, agreed that half of their militia should take part in garrisoning the Castle, to be relieved by the other half during alternate months.

When the news of war arrived, part of the richly laden homeward-bound fleet of the Dutch East India Company was lying in Table Bay, and it was thought unwise that it should sail without an escort of war-

ships. None being available at the time, it was decided to winter the ships in Hout Bay, as being safer from northerly gales than Table Bay and more easily protected from an English fleet than Simon's Bay. A battery was erected at the western side of Hout Bay, and twenty guns were mounted on it. When the bulk of the fleet arrived shortly afterwards it was sent to the larger anchorage of Saldanha Bay.

Dispatches were sent off to Ceylon and Batavia to acquaint the governments with news of the war in Europe, and then the little garrison settled down to await events with what patience it could command. In these days of cables and wireless telegraphy it is difficult to realize what the suspense must have been, when any day might bring a fleet of white sails over the horizon, heralds of friends or of foes.

1781.
Commo-
dore
John-
stone's
fleet sails.

Meanwhile in England, on the proclamation of war with the Netherlands, it had been decided to dispatch a fleet to take possession of the Cape of Good Hope, and on March 13, 1781, it sailed under the command of Commodore Johnstone.

Fight
with
Admiral
Suffren's

News of the expedition had, however, filtered out through the medium of a spy, and the French Government had hastily fitted out a fleet under a gallant officer, Admiral Suffren, to convey troops to protect the Cape against the English and then pass on to the East to attack the British Fleet under Sir Edward Hughes. There is reason to suppose that, in the event of a French victory, the Cape would have become the prize of France. The French squadron sailed from Brest on March 22, in company with ships destined for the West Indies under the command of de Grasse. After a week Suffren pushed on ahead, and at Porto Praya, near Cape Verde, he overtook the English squadron at

anchor. Johnstone's ships were at a disadvantage, being moored so close together that shots from their Commodore's ships would have damaged her own consort, but a gallant fight was put up, in which both sides displayed great bravery. At last the French drew off disabled, but taking with them four English ships as prizes—these were eventually recovered. The ships of both combatants were considerably shattered, and each side had lost over 100 men. Johnstone found it necessary to repair his ships before proceeding farther, while Admiral Suffren, by the aid of spare masts, was able to make his way southward. On June 21, 1781, the *Héros* sailed into Simon's Bay, having out-distanced the remainder of the French fleet, and in a few hours news of the coming invasion by the English had been spread by signal guns to Stellenbosch and the surrounding districts. A few days later, the transports with the French regiments arrived, the regiment of Pondicherry being quartered in a wing of the new hospital near the Castle, subsequently used as barracks and only pulled down a few years ago.

fleet off
Cape
Verde.

Meanwhile the English Commodore had patched up his ships and hastened southward, the *Active* under Captain Mackenzie being sent on ahead to reconnoitre. Shortly after leaving the main fleet, near the entrance to Saldanha Bay, she met and captured the *Held Woltemaade*, which had been dispatched to Ceylon with a sum of £40,000 for the Government of the island. Learning from her prize of the presence of the richly laden ships of the Dutch East India Company in Saldanha Bay, the *Active* returned to Commodore Johnstone with the news, and on July 21 the English Squadron sailed into Saldanha Bay.

Following their instructions, in the event of defence or

Capture of Dutch fleet in Saldanha Bay. escape being impossible, the Dutch captains set fire to their ships and betook themselves and their crews to the shore ; but the fires had not taken much hold, and in the end only the *Middelburg* was destroyed, the remainder of the fleet falling into the hands of the English. To this day divers at work in Saldanha Bay bring to the surface blue and white saucers and fragments of rare china from where the *Middelburg* sank—with all the specimens and treasures collected by the French naturalist, le Vaillant, who was a passenger in the ship, and watched her destruction from the shore.

Cape Town was now strongly garrisoned by the French regiments which had been brought out by Suffren, and Johnstone, realizing that the place was too strong to be attacked by his ships, sailed away, contenting himself with the rich prizes which he had taken and which he dispatched to England.

le Vaillant.

From le Vaillant we have a picture of Cape Town at this time, and of the effect which the presence of the French regiments had upon the people. The gay and pleasure-loving *beaux sabreurs* introduced many luxuries, brought with them French furniture and fashions, and set up a theatre under the very shadow of the Dutch Reformed Church. Society in Ryk Tulbagh's day had been serious and decorous, with a certain dignity of its own. Now all was changed.

'The women in general', he says, 'play on the harpsichord. They also love singing, and are distractedly fond of dancing, so that a week seldom passes without their having several balls ; the officers belonging to the ships in the Road frequently procure them this amusement. At my arrival the Governor had a custom of giving a public ball once a month, and the people of distinction in the town followed his example.'

Small wonder that 'little Paris' was the name given to once-sober Cape Town by passing travellers.

But while all the dancing and fiddling was going on in Cape Town, the frontier farmers were faced with the grave peril of a Kaffir invasion, provoked in part by the overbearing attitude of Willem Prinsloo and his son towards the natives, in part by the raids made by the Kaffirs on the cattle of the white men and of the neighbouring Hottentots. The commandoes were called out to take united action against them, Adriaan van Jaarsveld being appointed Field-Commandant of the Eastern frontier, and by July 1781 the last of the Kaffir invaders had been driven beyond the Great Fish River. This was the first of the Kaffir Wars which were to render the position of the frontier farmers almost untenable for many a year.

1779.
First
Kaffir
War.

In August 1782 a great tragedy occurred on the South African coast, a few miles north of the St. John's River. On her way home from Ceylon the English East India Company's ship *Grosvenor* ran on the rocks in the grey dawn of a winter's morning, and though 136 people reached the shore only six sailors succeeded in making their way to a farm on the Zwaartkops River. A relief expedition was organized, and three more sailors, seven lascars, and two Indian women-servants were found, and for a while it was thought that these were all the survivors. Several years later, however, strange stories of white women, who were living in Kaffir kraals, made their way to the Cape, and in 1790 an expedition under Jan Holtshausen, with Jacob van Reenen as recorder, set out for the Kaffir country. They found many strange things—in one place a great kraal where were 400 people of mixed blood, European, Indian, and Kaffir, and among them three old white

1782.
Wreck of
the *Gros-
venor*.

women who had forgotten their native English tongue. Even one who was still called Bessie knew no language but Kaffir. It was supposed that they belonged to a shipwrecked party which had been cast ashore many years earlier, other survivors having been found living as natives by Hubner as far back as 1736. But of the people from the *Grosvenor* they found no trace. And so the curtain falls on the tragedy of the wreck of the *Grosvenor* and on the mystery attending the fate of the English men and women who came ashore from her.

The hero
Wolte-
maade.

Another famous shipwreck took place during van Plettenberg's administration, and with it is associated the name of a humble keeper of the Company's menagerie in the gardens—Woltemaade, who is one of South Africa's heroes.

In the great storm of 1773 the ship *Jonge Thomas* was driven ashore near the mouth of the Salt River. Woltemaade rode his horse out to the wreck several times, bringing two men ashore each journey. At last the horse was exhausted, and he hesitated to ride into the raging sea again, but the piteous cries of the poor creatures on the wreck prevailed, and he determined to make another attempt. His brave heart was, however, greater than his strength, and horse and rider perished in the waves.

When the next eastward-bound fleet called at Table Bay, in the following year, the first ship which made its signal to the look-out on the Lion's Head was the *Held Woltemaade*—the Hero Woltemaade.

In April 1782 arrived the first letters which had been received from Europe for more than a year—communication having been cut off by the war between Holland and England. In reply to the communications received from the Governor van Plettenberg and the Fiscal

Willem Boers regarding the complaints lodged by some of the burghers some time earlier, the Seventeen stated that the matter was being considered by a special committee appointed by the Company. It was a leisurely age, and another eighteen months passed before the result of the inquiry was made known. It was to the effect that, in the opinion of the Company, those who had complained did not represent the majority of the burghers, that the charges against the officials were not proved, and in the main it agreed with the recommendations made by van Plettenberg. It refused the request of the burghers that they should be allowed to trade with the Netherlands and the East Indies, on the ground that it was undesirable to make any changes in commercial arrangements until the peace negotiations, then in progress with England, were concluded. Some small concessions were made, but on the whole the reply was unfavourable to the petitioners, who, not unnaturally, received it with dissatisfaction. The truth was that the Company was almost bankrupt, and the time was not a propitious one for departing from its customary policy. The Seventeen were, moreover, alarmed at the weakness of the Cape garrison, which, but for the timely arrival of the French troops brought by Admiral Suffren, must have yielded up the Cape to Johnstone, and it was therefore decided that van Plettenberg's resignation should be accepted and a Governor sent in his place who should also be a military officer of experience.

The Company's trade with the East was threatened by the loss of many of its ships during the war, and the appearance on the scene of trading vessels belonging to practically every European country. It was decided to build new fortifications for the use of additional troops

which were to be stationed at the Cape on their way to and from the East Indies—the troops then in garrison consisting only of the Swiss Regiment of Meuron, five hundred Dutch infantry, and a small number of Engineers.

1785.
van de
Graaff as
Governor.

One last effort to hold the Cape was to be made, and to carry out the Company's plans Lieut.-Colonel Cornelis Jacob van de Graaff, an engineer officer and Controller-General of the fortifications in the Netherlands, was appointed Governor in the place of Baron van Plettenberg. He landed in January 1785, Baron van Plettenberg returning to Europe two months later as Admiral of the Fleet. It was during the van Plettenberg administration that the great sculptor Anthon Anreith came to the Cape, in 1777. Some of his work remains to us—the exquisite pediment over the wine-cellar at Constantia, the elaborately carved pulpits of the Lutheran and Dutch Reformed churches in Cape Town, but much has been lost by accident or vandalism. Louis Thibault, the young officer of Engineers, was a fellow-worker with Anreith, and has left his mark in many graceful gables and beautiful buildings. The fine old Drostdy at Tulbagh is his work, and he enlarged the Government House in the gardens, once the Guest-house of the van der Stels, and built the Supreme Court in the middle of the Slave Lodge at the head of the Heeren-gracht. His designs were usually of the classical order and of a fine and simple dignity. During this period Captain Cook paid several visits to the Cape of Good Hope—indeed the feet of every traveller to and from the East in those days touched the streets of old Cape Town, the half-way house to India.

CHAPTER XI

THE CLOSE OF THE COMPANY'S ADMINISTRATION

THE sands were now running out fast in the Company's hour-glass. Well-nigh bankrupt at home, threatened by commercial rivals and military foes abroad, the Netherlands itself weak and menaced by its neighbours, the outlook was practically hopeless. But when van de Graaff took over the government of the Cape in 1785 a temporary peace had been patched up with England, at the cost of some of the Dutch East Indian possessions and the concession to English ships of freedom to trade in the Eastern seas. A heavy indemnity had been paid to Austria by the Netherlands, to enable the latter to retain its hold over the mouth of the Scheldt, and prevent the revival of Antwerp as a port and a dangerous commercial rival.

1785.

For the moment the illusion of peace reigned, but the Stadtholder—the Prince of Orange—was a weak man, without the grip or resolution needed to deal with the overwhelming difficulties which beset the worn-out republic, and there was a strong, democratic, anti-Orange party in the Netherlands which called itself 'the Patriots', and was chiefly concerned in making his position untenable.

However, for the moment there was peace, and the Company made one supreme effort to hold the key of the East in its failing hands, by providing against danger to the Cape when that peace should be broken. The new Governor constructed a battery at Rogge Bay,

completed the Amsterdam battery, made some additions to the Chavonnes battery, repaired the forts everywhere, and saw that the earthworks were in good order. The gunners were exercised in practice with red-hot cannon balls—and then the Governor turned his attention to the troubled condition of the colony itself.

The wisest and most tactful of administrators would have found it difficult to adjust the disputes between the burghers and the Company which had arisen out of various petty tyrannies connected for the most part with trading restrictions—and van de Graaff did not possess either wisdom or tact. Shortly after his arrival, however, dispatches came from the Seventeen announcing sundry changes in the system of administration, and stating that no further concessions would be made to the burghers until the new arrangements had been given a trial.

The dispatches further granted the request of the frontier farmers which had been sent home by Swellengrebel, asking for a church and Landdrost for their remote district, Herman Otto Woeke, a Stellenbosch burgher, being appointed Landdrost and instructed to choose a site for the drostdy and the town which would grow up around it.

The land chosen was a farm in the possession of Dirk Coetzee—a desolate and unfertile tract at the first glance, but watered by the Sunday River and sheltered by hills on the east and west. The new district was called Graaff Reinet, in honour of the Governor and his wife, and the large area over which the Landdrost held jurisdiction included the present districts of Albany, Alexandria, Aberdeen, portions of Albert and Tarka, Colesberg, Middelburg, Hanover,

1786.
Graaff
Reinet
founded.

Close of Company's Administration 109

Steynsburg, Richmond, Murraysburg, Beaufort West, Somerset East, Jansenville, Willowmore, Prince Albert, Bathurst, Uitenhage, and Graaff Reinet.

To-day the town of Graaff Reinet stands among thriving vineyards and gardens, but when Barrow visited it in 1797 he wrote that 'neither milk nor butter nor cheese, nor vegetables of any kind could be had upon any terms'. For the early settlers were much harassed



THE DROSTDY AT GRAAFF REINET

by the locusts which settled in swarms upon their land, while the increasing numbers of Kaffirs who poured across the Great Fish River made life as difficult a matter as it had been during the depredations of the Bushmen. There must have been moments when the Boers wondered whether the sheltered life in the pleasant, fruitful neighbourhood of the Cape had not been too lightly cast aside, but their dogged determination carried them through many difficulties.

During the seven years which had passed between The van Plettenberg's visit to the border and the appoint-^{frontier.}ment of a Landdrost, the Kaffir danger had grown so

formidable that many of the Boers who had settled in the more outlying districts with their flocks and cattle were driven to seek the comparative safety of less remote places. The Commando system had been developed, Adriaan van Jaarsveld being Commandant, and this period saw the development of the Kaffir Wars through which the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony was forced to fight for every step of territory, every peaceful homestead and prosperous farm. The danger from the Bushmen was lessened, but not at an end, and cattle-raids on the part of the little people still made the life of the vee-Boer a hard struggle for existence.

Again we must remember, if we are to understand the South Africa of to-day, what the circumstances were which moulded the characters of such of her people as lived at the back of beyond. That education should have become a thing of little account is not surprising—when you live with your horse saddled and your gun in your hand there is not much time to spare for the classics or even the lesser graces. While in the neighbourhood of Cape Town men were building spacious houses and filling them with dignified furniture and fine china, while Anthon Anreith the sculptor was modelling his Ganymede and Loves over the wine-cellar at Constantia, and Thibault was moulding his pediments and gables, the trek-Boer was silently, stolidly forcing back the Kaffir and the Bushman from the frontier. Each in his own way served South Africa, and the descendants of both types are with her to-day—of the prosperous burgher of the towns and the Boer of the back-veld. With the men and women of English and Huguenot descent they are being welded into one people.

Close of Company's Administration 111

Graaff Reinet was founded, as we have seen, in 1786, and a Landdrost appointed to administer law and order. But the restless element in their natures which had driven the farmers so far afield was soon chafing under the rule of the Company which had overtaken them on the veld. Grievances, more or less substantial, roused afresh the spirit of discontent, and under the unwise administration of Landdrost Woeke the district was soon simmering with incipient rebellion.

Meanwhile affairs were not going well for the Company at the Cape. Extravagance was the keynote of van de Graaff's administration, the Company's interests being entirely set aside while he lived in the utmost luxury. He had a salary of between five and six thousand a year, the great Government House in the Castle, Government House in the gardens, a country residence at Newlands House, and over one hundred and fifty horses in his stables. From the Government estate at Rustenberg he drew two-thirds of the wine made in the vineyards and all the vegetables consumed in his establishments. The expensive habits introduced by the French regiments had been universally adopted, the Governor setting the example and living as befitted an Eastern satrap rather than the head of a colony which was being administered by a bankrupt Company. 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die' might have been the motto of all.

The
Governor's
extrava-
gance.

It was not long before complaints came from the Seventeen, who would gladly have removed their quarrelsome and extravagant representative—for van de Graaff possessed both disqualifications—but obstacles were put in the way by the Prince of Orange, who, as Stadtholder, was the head of the Company, and who was a friend of the Governor. It was only possible

for the Seventeen to remove him by instructing him to stop all work on the fortifications and return to the Netherlands, on the ground that he was needed to give evidence as to the condition of the colony. He sailed in June, 1791, leaving the Secunde Johan Isaac Rhenius as Acting-Governor, but though he never returned to the Cape he continued to draw his pay as Governor.

1792. Arrival of the Company's Commissioners. Rhenius acted for a year, when the administration was taken over by two Commissioners-General, sent by the Company to inquire into affairs at the Cape, to curtail expenditure and make such reforms as might seem necessary. These Commissioners, Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh, chief advocate of the East India Company, and Captain Simon Hendrik Frikenius of the Netherlands Navy, landed in Simon's Bay in June, 1792.

It was no light task that confronted them, and difficulties met them on the door-step. The burghers, both in the towns and in the country districts, were in the condition of discontent which had now become chronic, and it must not be forgotten that the petty tyrannies in trading and other matters with which the Company sought to control them formed a solid basis for complaint. At the same time the Company had been badly served by its latest representative, and an extravagant scale of expenditure had been established, the administration of the colony costing £92,000 a year in excess of its revenue. Taxation is unpopular in every country, and no one likes it less than the Cape farmer. Even land rents seemed an oppression, and the Swelledam and frontier farmers owed long arrears. Therefore, when Nederburgh and Frikenius began their reforms by imposing taxes on imports, including slaves, a carriage-tax, a duty of twelve shillings on each leaguer

Close of Company's Administration 113

of brandy brought into the town, harbour dues on every vessel not belonging to the Company, auction duty, increase of transfer dues and of the stamp duty, a wail went up from the land.

Against the stamp duty, in particular, opposition was loudest, all articles bought at auctions being required to carry stamps varying in value according to the amount of the purchase, and at the buyer's expense. Hundreds of farmers, headed by the Heemraden of Drakenstein and Stellenbosch, rode into Cape Town and protested against the tax, while resolutions were passed to the effect that nothing should be bought at auctions until the tax was removed. The Commissioners were polite but firm—with ruin staring the colony in the face they could not well have been weak—and in the end the people were forced to submit. They protested equally against the prohibition of trade with foreign vessels, which was now limited to the sale of provisions for money, whereas in former times the Cape had been a market where Indian and European goods were bought and sold freely, and much of the wealth of the burghers had been acquired by this means.

The Commissioners, on the other hand, declared that the colonists would be better off than ever, the price of wheat paid by the Company being raised to eleven shillings and fourpence a muid—and that, in any case, the reforms were necessary if the colony were not to become bankrupt. A Dutch writer of the time declares, however, that the Directors were determined to keep the colonists in close subjection, fearing—and not without grounds—that if they were allowed liberty in trading or other matters they would revolt and declare themselves independent. To us, who have seen the liberty accorded to South Africa under the English flag, such

reasoning seems curious—but doubtless the writer knew the spirit of his times.

All work on the fortifications was forbidden by the Commissioners—not because the danger of invasion was less than it had been, but because there were no funds with which to carry it on. This, and the withdrawal of a great portion of the garrison, threw many people out of work, and was followed by much distress, but the Commissioners were faced with the gigantic task of establishing the administration upon a solvent basis, and proceeded steadily with their mission of retrenchment. To meet the financial trouble for the moment they established a loan bank and issued paper money to the amount of £135,000, but in the long run this issue of notes which could not be converted into gold only increased the growing distress.

Trouble
on the
frontier.

Meanwhile fresh trouble was brewing on the frontier.

As we have seen, the earlier settlers in those districts had largely been drawn from those members of the community who chafed under the trammels of civilization and had wished to escape from what they felt to be the arbitrary rule of the Company. From time to time their numbers were augmented by kindred spirits, some of them recent immigrants from Holland or France who brought with them the revolutionary doctrines which were then agitating those countries—the ‘Patriot’ party in Holland being in sympathy with the party of the Revolution in France, and, as will be remembered, hostile to the House of Orange. These revolutionaries were called Jacobins, from a political club which held its meetings in the hall of an ex-convent of the Dominicans—sometimes called Jacobins, after the Rue St. Jacques in Paris, where their first convent was established in 1219.

Close of Company's Administration 115

The new-comers to the Cape were seldom men of education, and were often lawless spirits who had been failures in their own countries. Added to the element already on the frontier, it is easy to understand that the atmosphere was disturbed and the frontier farmers impatient of any restraint. Carrying their lives in their hands, in constant danger of attack by natives, each man speedily became a law unto himself and resented any interference on the part of Government officials, who in truth showed little judgement in dealing with them.

Graaff Reinet, the newest and most remote district, was unfortunate in the officers who represented authority. The Landdrost Woeke was lazy and intemperate, and did not understand the difficult characters under his nominal control. His position was not an easy one, for the Kaffirs across the Great Fish River were a constant menace, and in 1789 they suddenly crossed the river and spread over the Zuurveld, as the present districts of Albany and Bathurst were called, carrying off the cattle, not of the Hottentots of the district alone, but of the white farmers, who barely escaped with their lives. On this occasion, however, Landdrost Woeke took energetic measures, calling out a commando and sending to Cape Town for further assistance—only to be told that his action was unwise and that the Kaffirs must be appeased and the commando dispersed without a shot being fired. The Kaffirs were to be left in possession of the Zuurveld. Perhaps it is not surprising that the farmers, who had been robbed of their cattle, and who had little respect for authority at the best of times, were on the brink of mutiny.

In 1792 the Commissioners summoned the Landdrosts and Heemraden of the country districts to confer

1789.
Second
Kaffir
War.

with them at a conference under the presidency of Colonel Gordon, to consider the question of military protection against the natives. Woeke did not attend the meeting, and though he subsequently explained that he could not have reached Cape Town in time, he was dismissed from office on the ground that he had lost the confidence of the people.

Woeke was succeeded as Landdrost by Secretary Maynier, who was unpopular with the frontier farmers, on the ground that his sympathies were less with them than with the Kaffirs, who were their enemies. His arrival was followed by a fresh invasion, and, on Colonel Gordon's recommendation, two commandoes (drawn from Swellendam, Drakenstein, and Stellenbosch) were sent to the Zuurveld to co-operate with the farmers of Graaff Reinet. On their arrival at Cornelis van Rooyen's farm, near the present city of Grahamstown, Maynier met them with the Graaff Reinet commando, but after some feeble efforts to dislodge the invading Kaffirs, a peace was patched up, in which the latter were again left in possession of the Zuurveld—on their assurance that they would conduct themselves peaceably. Maynier presented to the Council of Policy a report on the outbreak, in which he set forth the view that the Kaffirs were in the right and the Boers in the wrong, and, as a consequence, feeling against him and against the Government which he represented rose to fever heat.

CHAPTER XII

THE TAKING OF THE CAPE BY ENGLAND

WHILE incipient rebellion was simmering on the frontier, Nederburgh and Frikenius were doing their utmost to set the affairs of the colony on a more stable basis. Various minor reforms were made by the Commissioners, though they must have been sadly conscious throughout of the futility of trying to stave off the bankruptcy which threatened both the Netherlands and the Company. The French Révolution had swept away many landmarks in Europe, and though the Prince of Orange had maintained his alliance with England, the Patriot Party in the Netherlands was entirely in sympathy with the French revolutionaries when, on the 1st of February, 1793, ten days after the execution of Louis XVI, the National Convention of the French Republic declared war on Great Britain and on the Government of the Stadtholder.

Effect
of the
French
Revolu-
tion.

For a short time the intervention of his wife's uncle, the King of Prussia, backed by an English force under the Duke of York, kept the Prince of Orange on his unstable seat, but when the Netherlands were overrun by the French army, who were aided by the 'Patriotten', he fled to England, taking refuge in the little island which has never refused its shelter to a friend in distress.

Flight
of the
Prince of
Orange.

News of the outbreak of war between France and the Netherlands arrived at the Cape as Nederburgh and Frikenius were preparing to leave for the East Indies. There was little that could be done for the safety of the colony in the event of a French fleet appearing off the

1793.
Sluysken
as Com-
missioner-
General.

coast, for, as we have seen, economy had prompted the withdrawal of a large portion of the garrison. The Commissioners formed the young officials in the Company's service into a military penman's corps, with Willem Ferdinand van Reede van Oudtshoorn as commandant, while the Hottentots and half-castes were hastily drilled and organized as the Corps of Pandours. Having made these slender additions to the small permanent garrison and the burgher forces, the Commissioners sailed away on September 2, 1793, leaving Abraham Josias Sluysken as Commissioner-General in their place.

Sluysken, an official in failing health, on his way home to the Netherlands from the East, and put into authority at the Cape in default of a stronger man, found himself in no enviable position. The expenditure of the Council of Policy had been cut down to the last stiver, the Governor's establishment reduced to the lowest possible limit. There was no trade, for there were no vessels passing. The necessities of life were inordinately dear, the garrison was reduced almost to vanishing point—all in the vain hope of keeping on its feet the once proud East India Company, now in debt to the extent of ten millions sterling and unable to pay the interest on its loans.

Unrest at
Graaff
Reinet.

In the country districts sympathy with the French revolutionaries and with the Patriotten in the Netherlands was expressed joyfully. The people of Graaff Reinet, headed by Adriaan van Jaarsveld and Jan Triegard, offered the sincerest tribute in their power by hastening to create a 'National Assembly', which was to be independent of the Company, expelled their unpopular Landdrost Maynier, and decked their hats with tricoloured cockades to show their approval of French

The taking of the Cape by England 119

revolutionary ideals. They assumed the name of Nationalists, appointed Adriaan van Jaarsveld President of the Council of War, and sent a polite intimation of all these doings to Cape Town.

Meanwhile the flame of discontent and unrest had set Swellendam alight. Inspired by the example of Graaff Reinet, and dissatisfied with the rule of a Company whose government had degenerated into a system of petty tyranny, the burghers of Swellendam determined to throw off its authority. It was true that they had no personal grievance against their Landdrost, but he stood as the Company's representative, so Landdrost Faure and his officials were commanded to resign by the burghers, and the Heemraad Hermanus Steyn was elected in his place. Following the example of Graaff Reinet, they elected a 'National Assembly', and wore red, white, and blue cockades in their hats.

In Cape Town itself there were many whose sympathies were with the republicans, but Sluysken and Colonel Gordon were faithful to the House of Orange, and we find the latter writing that the unhappy condition of the Cape was 'much augmented by bad, designing people, who think to find their ruined finances established by French principles and anarchy, and by others who are the indoctrinated dupes'.

Into this chaos and disunion came the news that the Prince of Orange had fled to England, the tidings being brought by an English fleet under Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone, which anchored in Simon's Bay on June 11, 1795. The troops on board were commanded by Major-General Sir James Henry Craig.

1795.
Arrival
of the
British
fleet.

The expedition had been dispatched from England as soon as the news of the fall of the Prince of Orange and his Government had become known. It was known,

too, that the French Republic intended to take possession of the Cape at the earliest opportunity, having many sympathizers amongst the people of the place, and Admiral Elphinstone was the bearer of a letter from the Prince of Orange to the Commissioner, ordering



ADMIRAL GEORGE K. ELPHINSTONE
VISCOUNT KEITH

him to receive the English as friends, and to consider them as allies in protecting the colony against the French.

Never were Governor and Commandant in a more difficult position than Sluysken and Gordon. Knowing that the 'Patriot' party was in power in the Nether-

The taking of the Cape by England 121

lands, that the Batavian Republic had been proclaimed, and that the adherents of the House of Orange were in a hopeless minority, they were torn asunder between their duty to the Stadtholder as head of the Dutch East India Company and allegiance to the new government. The majority of the Cape people were, however, touched by republican sympathies, and the Council of Policy replied to General Craig—who acted as envoy for the British Government—that they were prepared to defend the colony with their own forces. As it is certain that they were in no position to repel attack, there can be no doubt that they preferred the chance of the Cape being captured by the navy of the French Republic to following the orders of the deposed Stadtholder.

Craig returned from the Castle to Simon's Bay with the news that the Council of Policy had decided to ignore the letter of the Prince of Orange, and refused to permit the landing of the British troops. That Sluysken and Gordon were not in favour of this course is clear from their letters to Elphinstone.

'Be assured', had written the Commandant, 'that I shall serve the common cause with all my exertions, that I abhor French principles, and that if our unhappy republic, where I am born in and served these forty-two years, should surrender (to France), then I am a Great Britainer.'

This was written before the decision of the Council of Policy not to permit the British troops to land was made known. On receiving the Council's reply, Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig issued an address to the inhabitants, explaining the situation in Europe and putting before them the alternatives which confronted them—an English or a French occupation. To the Council they wrote that, as the Netherlands had been

conquered by France, the same fate would certainly overtake the Cape if she were left to herself, and that England would not permit a nation with which she was at war to take possession of this important station on the route to India. If, however, her troops were permitted to land peaceably and hold the Cape against the French, she guaranteed that it should be returned to the Netherlands as soon as the Prince of Orange was restored to power.

The Council, however, adhered to its decision, which was hailed joyfully by the majority of the inhabitants, whose sympathies, as we have seen, were against the House of Orange and the Company and on the side of the French Republic. Preparations for defence against the British went forward hastily, the country burghers flocking into the town, while Simonstown was abandoned by its garrison and a strong detachment placed at Muizenberg on a narrow strip of land between the mountains and the sea. This detachment included the Hottentot or Pandour Corps under Commandant Jan Gerhard Cloete.

Sluysken and Gordon have been called half-hearted—and worse—because they, with a few other officials, held Orange sympathies and were prepared to believe the grave assurance given by England that she would only hold the colony in trust for the Prince of Orange and not retain it for herself if the request of Elphinstone and Craig for a peaceable landing were conceded. When, however, the majority of the Council of Policy decided to oppose the landing, they loyally set their own convictions aside and prepared to carry out the decision of the Council, which at this moment was strengthened by the news that the democratic party was in an overwhelming majority in Holland, and that, following on

The taking of the Cape by England 123

the establishment of the Batavian Republic in alliance with France, it had been decided to abolish the office of Stadtholder.

That cleared the way, said everybody who sympathized with the French, and the preparations for resisting the landing of the English troops went ahead.

At Muizenberg batteries were thrown up and trenches dug, the garrison at that point being reinforced by the troops withdrawn from Simonstown, and signals were made to apprise the country districts of a state of war. Stellenbosch sent five companies of mounted burghers. From Swellendam only seventy men came in the first instance. Then the 'National Assembly' of Swellendam met and decided to bargain with the Council of Policy—so many men to be sent in return for so many requests granted. After the letter had been dispatched, however, other counsels prevailed, and a short time later 168 mounted men arrived at the beautiful homestead of Morgenster in the Hottentots' Holland, under the command of Commandant Delpont, and after some negotiations with the Council they rode on to Cape Town.

Left to themselves, the less law-abiding section of the Swellendam people occupied their leisure in setting up a burlesque government, with an Italian adventurer named Pisani as commandant, which threatened to destroy the houses and property of those who had gone to the help of the Government at Cape Town. South African history, as we have seen earlier, sometimes goes round in a circle. A detachment of these armed protestors marched towards the Cape under Pisani's leadership, but on hearing that a reward of £200 had been offered for his arrest, his followers turned against him, and he was finally captured and banished.

Meanwhile Sluysken and Gordon, with heavy hearts, were massing all their available troops at Muizenberg, Colonel de Lille being in command. On August 7 the English Admiral attacked the Cape troops by land and sea, the 78th Highlanders, with a detachment of marines and sailors, marching along the shore under the command of Major-General Craig, while the ships of the squadron stood in as close as they could sail to the Muizenberg beach. This was not very close, owing to the shallow water which to-day makes this beach a safe and pleasant bathing-place, but Elphinstone had equipped a small gunboat and several small launches with cannon, and these were able to approach close to the shore.

Battle of
Muizen-
berg.

Attacked simultaneously by the troops in front and the naval guns on their flank, the National Battalion from Swellendam, led by de Lille, broke and fled. The artillery, under Lieutenant Marnitz, made a more gallant defence, but it was soon clear that the Cape guns were no match for those of the English ships. He therefore drew off his men to a little distance, and, with such of the troops as were not in retreat with de Lille, made a stand against the Highlanders. Driven from this point, the Cape troops retired on Wynberg, where they encamped, while the English troops established themselves at Muizenberg. Colonel de Lille was overtaken, arrested, sent to the Castle and tried for treason. Though he was acquitted, he does not emerge from the business with much distinction.

The troops at Wynberg, on the site of the present military camp, were placed under the command of Captain van Baalen, but the leaven of rebellion against authority was again at work, and part of the burgher cavalry melted away on the plea that the farms needed their presence, while the Pandours were in all but open

The taking of the Cape by England 125

revolt. Nevertheless, an attack on Muizenberg was under contemplation, when on September 4 fourteen English ships sailed into Table Bay, bringing 3,000 troops with General Alured Clarke in command. Admiral Elphinstone, with Generals Craig and Clarke, again endeavoured to arrange a settlement without further recourse to arms, but it was again refused, and the Cape troops under van Baalen prepared to resist the English army, which left Muizenberg on the morning of September 14 and marched towards Wynberg.

At Wynberg were concentrated about 1,700 troops, drawn from the Artillery, Burgher Cavalry, Penman's Corps, the regiments of Wurtemberg and Meuron, the crews of two of the Company's ships, and such of the Swellendam Nationals as had remained loyal. Meanwhile an element of surprise was provided by another party of these Nationals who, led by David du Plessis and with great bravery, attempted to harass the formidable English army on its march.

Wynberg presented a scene of dire confusion and disorganization. Van Baalen, either through stupidity or treachery, had so disposed the forces and placed the guns that resistance to the superior army of the English would be impossible. Amid a clamour of dissatisfaction the regular troops fell back towards Cape Town after a brief skirmish, while the remainder of the burgher cavalry rode off to their homes. The English encamped at Newlands, where, on the evening of September 14, a messenger arrived under a flag of truce, asking for an armistice wherein terms of capitulation might be discussed.

Capitulation.

Sluysken has been blamed for weakness in yielding up tamely the land which the Dutch East India Company had held for 143 years, but no other course was open to

him, and he was exonerated from all blame by the Government in Holland. Had the Cape troops and burghers been as staunch and united as they were disaffected towards the Company, they could not have held the country against the stronger forces of England. As it was, they were disunited, torn asunder by political intrigues and honeycombed with revolt against the Company, whose flag was hauled down at the Cape with little real regret.

The
terms.

The terms of capitulation were easily arranged, a meeting being held for the purpose at Rustenburg, Rondebosch, where the representatives of the Council of Policy, J. J. le Sueur and W. S. van Ryneveld, conferred with the English General on September 15. England undertook to levy no new taxes, to respect the form of religion of the colonists, to interfere with no privileges, and to leave all owners in possession of private property. The troops were to surrender as prisoners of war. All officers and Company's officials were to have their choice between taking service with the English Government or returning to Holland on parole not to fight against England while the war lasted. All property and lands belonging to the Company were to be given over to England.

The
British
flag
hoisted.

The terms were signed by the English and Dutch officials, and on September 16, 1795, the flag of England flew over the Castle of the Cape of Good Hope, 175 years after it had been hoisted on the Signal Hill by Humphrey Fitzherbert and Andrew Shillinge.

Sluysken returned to Holland, where he presented his report to the National Assembly at The Hague, which, on the proclamation of the Batavian Republic, had superseded the States-General. He blamed the burghers vigorously for the loss of the Cape, not seeing, or per-

The taking of the Cape by England 127

haps not knowing, that the disaffection which he regarded as the cause of failure was only a symptom of the Company's own decay, and in some ways a result of its own short-sighted policy.

Colonel Gordon was marked for a more tragic fate. Three weeks after the terms of peace were signed he was found dead in his garden. He had died by his own hand, and his enemies hastened to assert that he had been goaded by an uneasy conscience. This is not probable. Gordon had made no secret of his loyalty to the Prince of Orange and his desire to see his letter obeyed, but when the Council of Policy decided to set the letter aside and resist the landing of the English, he accepted its decision loyally. In any case, the man who was prepared, as he wrote to Admiral Elphinstone, 'to become a Great Britainer' in the event of the Netherlands surrendering to France, was little likely to shoot himself because Great Britain had prevented France from occupying the Cape. England had come as a friend to the Prince of Orange. The Cape, guided by French republican sympathies, had received her as an enemy, and Gordon was too wise a man not to see that the position subsequently taken up by her had been made inevitable by the action of the Council of Policy. Whatever the cause of his unhappy death, whether grief for his fallen master or some other reason, it is not in the least probable that it was due to an uneasy conscience.

Colonel
Gordon.

Christoffel Brand (the Resident at Simonstown), the Secunde, and the Fiscal agreed to enter the service of the English Government, as did nearly 400 men of the National Battalion. Holland had become a dependency of France, and was too weak to protect those who had been her subjects overseas, and the once great Company was bankrupt. The flag of England meant freedom.

protection, and safety. It meant—as the English generals wrote to the burghers of Swellendam—‘that the monopolies and oppressions hitherto practised for the benefit of the India Company are at an end. A free and internal trade and market takes place from this day. Every man may buy of whom he pleases, sell to whom he pleases, employ whom he pleases, and come and go when and where he pleases by land or water.’

No more eloquent testimony to the petty oppression of the Company’s rule in its later days can be found than these words, and the unhappy result had been the sowing the seeds of disloyalty through the land.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FIRST BRITISH OCCUPATION

So, on a September afternoon in 1795, the flag of the Dutch East India Company fluttered for the last time over the Castle of the Cape of Good Hope, for when the country reverted for a time to the Batavian Republic the Company was dead. The burghers who saw it hauled down must have looked on with mixed feelings, for, though it was the only flag which some of them had known, to all it was merely the symbol of a trading Company which had existed chiefly for the purposes of gain, and to whom the Cape was but a means to an end.

1795.
The last
of the
Com-
pany's
flag.

Sometimes, it is true, the land had been ruled by men who had loved her for her own sake—the van der Stels, Ryk Tulbagh, and others—but these were mere incidents in the Company's scheme of administration and not always in harmony with it. Of late the gulf between the Company and the colonists had widened, until those who were loyal to it and to the Prince of Orange as its head were in a small minority. The land, as General Craig wrote, was 'infected with the poison of Jacobinism'. Graaff Reinet had openly thrown off the Company's yoke and had proclaimed itself an independent republic, with its own National Assembly. Swellendam had followed in its train, though somewhat half-heartedly. At Stellenbosch and in the Land of Waveren and at the Cape the burghers were strongly imbued with French republican sympathies. No one owed to any special allegiance to any rule. But, in a slow, confused manner the young country was finding herself, and a step in her evolution was the

Jacobin-
ism and
its effect

hoisting of the flag of King George III over the Castle on that September day.

For the last time Colonel Gordon rode at the head of the Cape troops as they marched out of the Castle. General Craig and a detachment from the English army had taken up a position on the Parade Ground near the spot where van Riebeeck had built his little fort in the full tide of the Company's prosperity, and the Company's troops filed by to the beating of drums and laid down their arms.

Craig as
Deputy-
Governor.

Craig was appointed Deputy-Governor until instructions could be received from England, and two months later Sluysken sailed for Holland. Admiral Elphinstone took his squadron on to the East, and, by a strange coincidence, chanced to be off the Cape in the August of the following year and captured in Saldanha Bay nine Dutch warships which had come in the hope of taking the Cape from the English.

Craig proved a very good Governor. He appealed to 'the good sense of the inhabitants' to aid him in the difficult task of restoring order, and the majority wisely decided in his favour. French sympathy still ran high, it is true, and every one was anxious lest the new Government should repudiate the paper money which had been issued by Nederburgh and Frikenius and leave the people burdened with over £250,000 in irredeemable notes. However, they were wise enough to see that for the moment at least no help was to be looked for from France or the Batavian Republic, so the burghers of the Cape, Stellenbosch and Swellendam, joined the new Acting-Governor in the work of setting their house in order.

Their fears as to the paper currency were at once set at rest by an assurance that the property of the Com-

pany would be held in trust on mortgage for the redemption of such paper money as was not secured by private mortgages. Other troubles subsided under Craig's tactful measures, though it is doubtful whether they would not have bubbled up anew had a French fleet appeared in the offing. Still, for the time being there was harmony everywhere except at Graaff Reinet. Even Swellendam had loyally taken the oath of allegiance to King George, and had accepted their old Landdrost Faure in the place of Hermanus Steyn, who had been appointed by the 'National Assembly'. Steyn himself accepted office under Faure as Heemraad.

From Graaff Reinet had come at first a letter explaining that the inhabitants had been much misunderstood. They had not risen against the authority of the States-General or the Government—not they. They pointed out—and this with some truth—that they had had cause for resentment in the policy of the Company, its monopolies, its trading restrictions, its absence of protection against the natives, and the loss they feared from the all but worthless paper money. But for all these things, they explained, they would have been the most law-abiding community in the world, and they added that they were now willing to abide by the Governor's respectable orders. Meanwhile they had appointed one Gerotz as temporary Landdrost, not wishing that Maynier, whom they had ejected, should be returned to them.

Position
at Graaff
Reinet.

To all of this Craig returned a courteous and tactful reply. He did not mean to take up any of the Company's quarrels, he said. If the people of Graaff Reinet said that they were loyal to the new Government, he was ready to believe them, and to let all the past be forgotten. But he did not approve of their choice of

Gerotz as a permanent Landdrost, and sent them, in the place of Maynier, Mr. F. R. Bressler, a man of upright character, who could be trusted to administer justice with an impartial hand.

Rebellion. Graaff Reinet's good intentions had melted away long before the Governor's reply arrived. Landdrost Bressler was met with open rebellion and denied access to the Court House. The republican spirit was once more in the ascendancy; the flag of England, which he caused to be hoisted, was pulled down by the adherents of the 'National Party', Martinus Prinsloo was elected 'Protector of the Voice of the People', and the inhabitants with one accord refused to take the oath of allegiance. Landdrost Bressler, being utterly powerless, returned to Cape Town and reported the position of affairs to General Craig, who was too busy to take drastic measures at the moment, but sent the 84th Regiment to Stellenbosch, to be in readiness to proceed further inland if necessary.

**Capture
of Dutch
fleet and
its effect.**

The rebellion simmered for some months longer, and was only brought to an end by the capture of the Dutch fleet by Admiral Elphinstone, to which reference has been made, and the consequent downfall of the Nationalists' hopes that assistance would arrive from the republican party in Holland. The people of Graaff Reinet and the frontier now decided to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, and hoped that the Governor 'would please to bury in oblivion every circumstance which may have happened'. At the same time they sought to strike a bargain by requesting permission to invade Kaffirland, take what land they pleased, and seize the cattle which they declared had been stolen from them. They mentioned that they had lost 65,327 head. Unluckily for their request, they had some time before

owned to the possession of only 8,004 head, all told, when required to send in returns for taxation. They asked for several other things, but Craig cut short their demands in a friendly and courteous but very firm letter, refusing their petition to be allowed to invade the Kaffir country and counselling them to conduct themselves as law-abiding subjects of the King. The advice was apparently accepted, and for a time there was quiet on the frontier, though the embers were only dormant and ready to break into flame at an hour's notice.

In all the disputes between the frontier farmers and the natives—whether Kaffirs or Bushmen—historians are divided in apportioning the blame. One point of view is that the farmers were peaceful folk, anxious to live on good terms with their aboriginal neighbours, but that constant cattle raids made this impossible. Exponents of the other view maintain that the Kaffirs and Bushmen were simple, innocent people, whose land the farmers snatched, while they treated the owners with great cruelty. Probably neither is the correct view. When the forces of civilization come into contact with those of primitive races a clash is inevitable. The scale of culture was not very high on the frontier in those early days, but sufficiently remote from the standard of the Kaffir and the Bushman to make mutual understanding difficult, while the native had his own distinct code of morals—in the case of the Bantu races a high one—which differed materially from that of the Boer.

Two
points of
view.

It was the beginning of one of South Africa's greatest problems—the dwelling side by side in terms of equity of the white man and the black.

Craig's administration came to an end after a year and a half of rule which was, on the whole, tactful and

134 History of South Africa

1797.
Arrival
of Lord
Macart-
ney.

sensible in the teeth of overwhelming difficulties. On May 4, 1797, Lord Macartney, his successor, arrived in Table Bay on board the *Trusty*, and was sworn in as Governor on the following day. The new Governor had a distinguished administrative career behind him, having been, besides other things, Governor of Madras and



LORD MACARTNEY

Lady
Anne
Barnard.

British Envoy to China. He brought with him as Colonial Secretary Andrew Barnard, and we are indebted to the brilliant letters written by Lady Anne Barnard to Lord Melville (then the Hon. Henry Dundas), Secretary for War in Pitt's first Government, for many side-lights on the political and social life of the Cape

under the new administration. She was a woman of great charm, with keen powers of observation, and she wrote with infinite candour of South Africa as it then appeared to English eyes. If at times her criticisms appear stringent, it must be remembered that nothing was set down in malice or with any desire other than that of giving Lord Melville an honest picture of the Cape at that time. She was apparently popular with the Dutch residents of the Cape, who came in numbers to the parties which she gave in Simon van der Stel's old council chamber in the Castle, in the hope of drawing the two races together socially. Lady Anne is best known to the world outside South Africa as the author of 'Auld Robin Gray'.

Another member of Lord Macartney's company has left us his impressions, with notes on the South African flora and fauna. This was Mr.—afterwards Sir John—Barrow, who acted as Private Secretary, being then a young man of twenty-three and gifted with great abilities. Shortly after his arrival he was sent by Lord Macartney to Graaff Reinets with Bressler, with orders to report on all that he saw, but instructed to let his tour pass for one of 'curiosity, science, and botanical research', in order not to arouse any hostility. They had an escort of twelve stout dragoons, but on arrival found the frontier tranquil and every one willing to take the oath of allegiance. From Graaff Reinets they went on to Kaffirland, as far as the present town of Peddie, near which stood the kraal of Gaika, the great Kosa chief. The conference which followed was thought satisfactory, Gaika promising to respect the rights of the frontier farmers.

Sir John
Barrow.

Lord Macartney—the Oude Edelman, as the Dutch called him—only remained at the Cape for eighteen

1798.
Resigna-
tion of
Lord Ma-
cartney.

months. At the end of that time ill-health compelled him to resign his post, and in November, 1798, he sailed for England, leaving Major-General Dundas as Acting-Governor.

Fresh re-
bellion in
Graaff
Reinet.

His departure was the signal for renewed activity among such of the Graaff Reinets as still cherished Nationalist sympathies. His hand had been laid heavily on their aspirations, and with its removal these revived in full force. The flame of rebellion was fanned at this moment by the arrest of Adriaan van Jaarsveld, who had been guilty of fraud towards the Orphan Chamber in reference to a mortgage—van Jaarsveld, it will be remembered, had been the military leader of the Graaff Reinets Nationalists. The wagons conveying him and Mr. Oertel, the district secretary, had left Graaff Reinets, on their way to Cape Town, when they were held up by forty armed burghers, under Martinus Prinsloo, and van Jaarsveld was carried off in triumph, to throw himself with ardour into the new rebellion.

It is amazing to find that at this juncture the Graaff Reinets Boers decided to ask the assistance of the Kaffirs against such of their white fellow-burghers as refused to join in a raiding expedition against the rest of the colony. The credit—or discredit—of this resolve was due to the influence of Conraad du Buys, a Swellendam Boer who had joined the Kaffirs some years earlier. He had married Gaika's mother and become a powerful chief—being proclaimed an outlaw by Lord Macartney, on his refusal to return to the colony. He was in close touch with the leaders of the Graaff Reinets Rebellion, and probably their surprising resolve was the result of his suggestion. General Dundas, however, acted with promptitude, dispatching British troops under General Vandeleur to the frontier, accompanied by a detachment

of the Pandours and followed by a contingent sent by sea to Algoa Bay.

The rebels prudently resolved to offer no opposition to this overwhelming force. Many of them dispersed quietly to their farms, while a detachment of the Sneeuw-berg Burgher Cavalry rode into Graaff Reinet with every demonstration of loyalty to the British flag and welcome to the troops. According to Landdrost Bressler, their welcome was almost over-ostentatious, considering that when he had asked for their assistance in restoring order a few weeks earlier only three had come forward out of fifty-three. However, Vandeleur naturally accepted the expression of welcome at its apparent value, and was wise enough not to search for motives. The main body sent in a petition for pardon, to which the General replied that ‘until those who were concerned in the late daring revolt come in a body to lay down their arms and sue for pardon, I do not feel myself authorized to enter upon any treaty with them’.

In the end there was a general surrender—only Conraad du Buys and six others taking refuge with the Kaffirs. Sentence of death was passed on the leaders of the rebellion, van Jaarsveld and Prinsloo, and of imprisonment or banishment on the rest of the organizers. Dundas was, however, anxious to spare the lives of these misguided men, and kept them in confinement pending a relaxation of their sentences, and they were all released when the Cape reverted to the Batavian Republic in 1803—with the exception of van Jaarsveld, who had died in prison.

General
surrender.

Meanwhile the spectacle of disunion between the white colonists had suggested to the Kaffirs across the Great Fish River the possibility of recapturing the land on the Cape side of that boundary. Kaffirland itself

was rent asunder at this moment between the rival claims of the Kosa chief Gaika and his uncle Ndhlabi, who were at enmity. Large numbers of Kaffirs had joined Ndhlabi, and he felt himself sufficiently strong to seize the moment of weakness in the white people and cross the river with bands of his fighting men. They were joined by many of the Hottentots of the Zuurveld, who had for some time been servants and farm-labourers to the Boers, but who regarded them as oppressors, and had expressed their willingness to join the British forces. On the withdrawal of the British troops at the close of the rebellion about 100 of these Hottentots had been formed into a Hottentot corps. The remainder now joined the Kaffirs.

1799.
Third
Kaffir
War.

In July, 1799, the combined Kaffirs and Hottentots swept over the Zuurveld, murdering men, women, and children, burning the farm-houses and carrying off cattle, wagons, and ammunition. The unhappy settlers fled before them, leaving their ruined and blackened homes in the possession of the natives. On news of the rising reaching Cape Town, General Dundas took command of an expedition which was to co-operate with General Vandeleur in driving back the Kaffirs and Hottentots—the greater part of the troops having been recalled from the border, and an officer and twenty men having been cut off by the invaders, and all but four killed after a gallant fight.

A
patched-
up peace.

The outcome, however, was a patched-up peace, Dundas coming to the conclusion that the Kaffirs were too formidable to be conquered, and believing in the power of conciliation. 'It was impossible', he wrote from the frontier, 'for regular troops to follow up the savages into their fastnesses and over wide mountainous country, where the natives could always get the best of

it.' It is true that he had to consider the need for keeping the defences of the country at full strength, and there was some force in his argument, but the effect of this policy was to leave the Kaffirs to live in the Zuurveld, side by side with the Boers—Dundas confiding in the promises made by Ndhlabi to Maynier when the latter was sent to confer with him on behalf of the Government.

It is easy for those of us who look back from the twentieth century to the frontier troubles at the close of the eighteenth to apportion the blame as seems good in our eyes. We weigh the merits and demerits of the Boers and the Kaffirs in our modern scales, forgetting that desperate men, living in the face of danger with their lives in their hands and little respect for the law, and a native people who saw themselves dispossessed of the land of their fathers cannot be judged by ordinary standards. A stronger man than Dundas might have found himself helpless in dealing with the overwhelming mass of Kaffirs and trusted to conciliation and diplomacy rather than to the comparatively small force which he considered could not prevail in the end, even if the Cape were to be left without a soldier to defend it.

But the frontier Boers, who had previously rebelled against their own Company, now cried aloud that they were betrayed by a Government which would not permit them to take the law into their own hands in dealing with the Kaffirs, but trusted to promises which the Boers did not believe would be kept. General Vandeleur shared their opinion that the Kaffirs would regard conciliation as a proof of timidity, but his advice was disregarded.

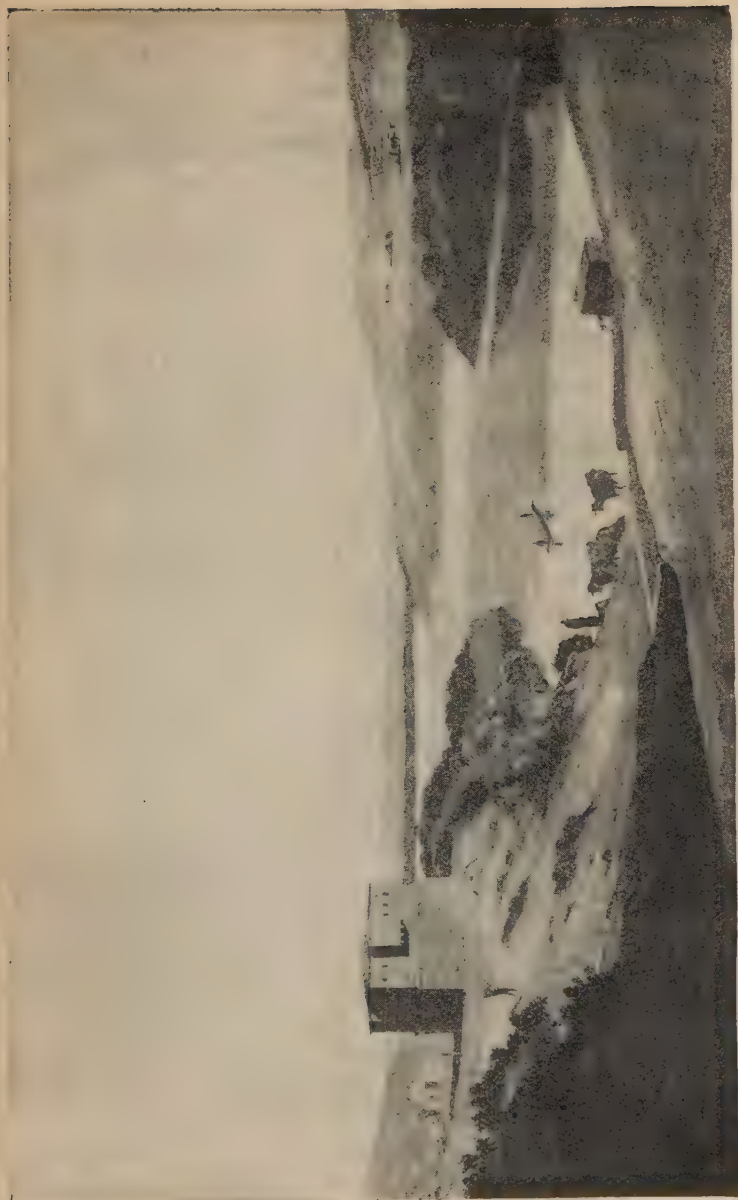
It was a position which would have taxed the wisest and strongest head—and at this juncture arrived one of

Dec. 1799. the feeblest governors that the Cape has ever known,
 Sir George Yonge as Governor.

A concession towards the protection of the frontier was made by the establishment of a military station and the building of Fort Frederick at Algoa Bay, but the truth is that the frontier was too far from the Cape to be safe in those days. 'Eight hundred or a thousand miles', wrote Lady Anne Barnard to Melville, 'is a long way to send troops to guard a few farm-houses, especially when the ownership of the country was daily menaced by attack from France or Holland, and was, at best, precarious. The desirability of conciliating the Kaffirs was shared by the Dutch officials, Mr. Olof Gottlieb de Wet, the President of the Court of Justice, urging the policy of keeping on friendly terms with them. "Hostilities", he said, "rouse their natural taste for plunder. They have everything to gain and nothing to lose, and from their knowledge of the country they fight with every advantage against us. . . . We have always found that to keep well with them was our only safety."'

However, the disturbance had come to an end for the moment, and Mr. Maynier, who had acted as the Government agent in dealing with the Kaffirs, was placed in charge of the frontier as Civil Commissioner, with instructions to work out a *modus vivendi* by which Boers, Kaffirs, and Hottentots might live side by side in friendliness. It was a difficult task.

'The recent negotiations with the natives', writes Professor Cory, 'were more of the nature of a withdrawal from hostilities than a restoration of peace. Mr. Maynier was sensible of having to control a class of people who hated him personally, and who were, probably, no better disposed to the Government which he represented. He had to deal with two different sets of



FORT FREDERICK AT ALGOA BAY

Kaffirs, who were on bad terms with each other, and, besides this, to endeavour to appease the offended Hottentots. But a far more difficult task was that of combating the influence of those secret enemies, whose caution concealed them from view, and thereby enabled them the more effectively to counteract his measures and triumph at his ill-success.'

Maynier's
difficul-
ties.

Those who know anything of South African problems will realize the difficulty of Maynier's position. The 'secret enemies' were speedily at work, sowing false reports as to the Government's intentions, creating disturbances between the farmers and the Hottentots, and accusing Maynier of every possible form of injustice. These accusations being diligently spread in Cape Town, Maynier was summoned to answer the charges brought against him, but the committee of investigation pronounced him innocent, 'a faithful servant to Government, conducting himself on every occasion as an honest, upright man'.

1799.
The Lon-
don Mis-
sionary
Society.

During the year 1799 the first missionaries of the London Society arrived in South Africa. They were sincerely anxious for the welfare of the natives, but the active part the members took in politics nullified much of the good which they might have achieved.

1801.
Recall
of Sir
George
Yonge.

Sir George Yonge proved not only a weak governor but an extravagant one, and in April, 1801, he was recalled and General Dundas again appointed Acting-Governor. He only held the position for a year. On

1802.
The Cape
restored
to the
Batavian
Republic
by the
Treaty of
Amiens.

March 27, 1802, was signed the Treaty of Amiens, by which peace was ratified between Great Britain and the French Republic, and as one of the conditions the Cape of Good Hope was given back to the Batavian Republic.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CAPE UNDER THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC

ON December 23, 1802, the new Governor, Lieutenant-General Jan Willem Janssens, arrived at the Cape. He

1802.
Arrival
of
Janssens
and
de Mist.



GENERAL JANSSENS

was accompanied by Commissary-General Jacobus de Mist, and after sundry delays—caused by a threatened breakdown of the negotiations between Great Britain

1803.
The Cape
handed
over to
the
Batavian
Republic.

and the Batavian Republic—the flag of the Republic was hoisted on the Castle three months later. A proclamation was issued by General Dundas, by which all the inhabitants of the Cape were absolved from their oath of allegiance to England, and the British officials sailed for home. The Batavian Republic was wise in her choice of the two men whom she sent as her representatives. De Mist was a great gentleman, a man of culture, wide experience, and keen powers of observation. Janssens was a brave soldier, and proved himself a wise and upright Governor. On March 1, 1803, he took the oath of office, and was installed by de Mist, the ceremony taking place in that same Council Hall of the Castle wherein Simon van der Stel had installed his son more than a century earlier, and where the English subalterns and Dutch girls had danced at Lady Anne Barnard's balls. Many of the men who witnessed the later ceremony bore the same names as their ancestors who had laid the foundations of the colony, as their descendants in the Parliament of the Union of South Africa bear them to-day. In many instances the Dutch officials who had held office through the English administration retained their posts—an exception being Olof Gottlieb de Wet, President of the High Court of Justice, who, however, resumed his office when the Cape passed once more into English possession in 1806.

The first act of the Commissary-General and Governor was to proclaim an amnesty to all political prisoners. The farmers who had been responsible for the trouble in the Graaff Reinet district were set at liberty, and a month after his installation Janssens set out for the eastern border of the colony, in the hope of arranging the difficulties between the Boers and the natives.

Janssens
proceeds
to the
border.

With the Hottentots he was successful, and, acting on the suggestion made by General Dundas, that a strip of country should be set aside for their use, he gave them between six and seven thousand morgen of land near the mouth of the Little Swaartkops River, which was named Bethelsdorp and placed under the charge of the Reverend Dr. Vanderkemp of the London Missionary Society, which, as we know, had sent its first agents to South Africa in 1799. For those Hottentots who still wished to enter the service of the Boer farmers an arrangement was made by which the Landdrost should have power to protect them and afford redress in case of any injustice. The Hottentot Corps, which had been formed on the frontier by the British, as the Pandours had been enrolled at the Cape by the Dutch, was transferred to Riet Vlei, near Cape Town, and peace seemed to be established in one corner of the frontier.

The
Hotten-
tots.

With the Kaffirs the result was less decisive. The utmost that Janssens's tact could accomplish was friendly interviews with Gaika and Ndhlabi, the rival chiefs. It will be remembered that Ndhlabi and his warriors had crossed the Great Fish River, which was the boundary of Kaffirland, and had established themselves in the Zuurveld, near the Boers, and that General Dundas had felt himself powerless to remove them or induce them to return. Janssens found himself equally helpless, in the face of the great army of trained Kaffir warriors, and had to content himself with listening to renewed expressions of good intentions and friendliness, which might mean anything or nothing.

The
Kaffirs

From Kaffirland he went north to Plettenberg's Beacon, about twenty miles from the present town of Colesberg, to inquire into the condition of the Bushmen, who were fast being wiped off the face of the earth,

1803.
War
between
England
and
France.

The
causes.

being inveterate stock thieves and liable to be shot at sight by the Boers, who regarded them as hardly human. At this point of his journey news reached the Governor of the outbreak of fresh hostilities between England and France, less than two years after the Treaty of Amiens had apparently brought about peace in Europe.

To understand the causes of the rupture we must glance for a moment at the great political arena of the northern world—for no country lives or dies to itself alone, and South Africa least of any.

When the Treaty of Amiens was signed the power of Napoleon had received a set-back. 'The sea-power of Great Britain', writes Mr. Arthur Hassell, 'remained unconquered. The Northern Coalition had been dispersed; the great states, apart from France, showed friendly feeling towards Great Britain. The control of the Mediterranean was still in the hands of the British fleet; the French had failed in Egypt.' The peace of Amiens was necessary to Napoleon, to give time for the reorganization of France and to enable him to establish her foreign policy on a firmer basis.

Earlier than this, in 1801, the Treaty of Lunéville had been made with Austria, by which France retained possession of the German districts on the left bank of the Rhine, but pledged herself to evacuate Holland. In the Treaty of Amiens England gained Trinidad and Ceylon, but gave up the Cape, and agreed to evacuate Malta, which she had taken a month earlier—on the understanding that France would keep her word and withdraw from Holland, which by this time was merely a pawn in the Great Game.

Napoleon, however, was disposed to regard the Treaty of Lunéville as a 'scrap of paper', and refused to carry out his pledge to Austria (repeated in the Franco-Dutch

The Cape under Batavian Republic 147

Convention of 1801) that the French troops should evacuate the Batavian Republic on a general peace. Nevertheless he demanded that England should give up Malta without delay. This she refused to do while his pledge regarding Holland remained unfulfilled, and fresh hostilities broke out forthwith.

It is easy to see that a French Holland would have been a ceaseless menace to England, and the probable consequence of the possession by France of Holland's colony of the Cape of Good Hope would have been to give Napoleon his stepping-stone to the Eastern Empire of which he dreamed. Had he been wise enough to preserve the peace of Europe until France was consolidated and strong, he might have attained his highest ambitions. As it was, his failure to keep to his agreement with Austria regarding Holland provoked fresh hostilities almost before the ink was dry on the Treaty of Amiens, England declaring war in the spring of 1803 and the treaty itself being reduced to waste paper.

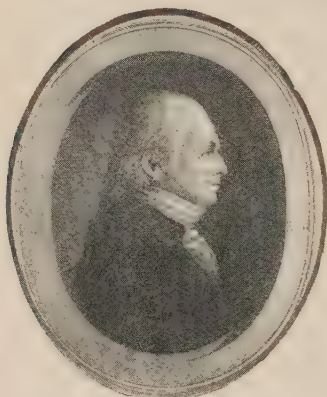
To Janssens, working zealously to bring about order and prosperity in South Africa, the news must have come as a blow. He hurried back to Cape Town, travelling 620 miles in ten days, over pathless veld and rough tracks, but for a while the only visible effect of the war upon the Cape was, oddly enough, the reduction of the garrison. Troops were urgently needed for the East Indies, if the rich spice islands were to be held against the English, and orders came from Holland to send a battalion of infantry to Java. Bereft of what was his most trusty regiment, Janssens made the best preparations in his power. Half the garrison was withdrawn from Fort Frederick at Algoa Bay, the Pandour Corps was increased and put under the command of Lieut.-Colonel François le Sueur, and the Malays were

The
danger
from
France.

Prepara-
tions to
hold the
Cape.

formed into a Corps of Artillery. Of the 1,600 regular troops under arms a large proportion was contributed by the Waldeck Regiment—a body of German mercenaries—and the Jagers, who were recruited in Europe and had no stake in the country. Taking them all together, it was as heterogeneous an army as a gallant soldier has ever been asked to command.

While Janssens was engaged in the difficult task of getting these uncongenial elements into shape, de Mist's journey.



COMMISSARY-GENERAL
DE MIST

made an extended tour of the country. He was accompanied by his daughter, Augusta Uitenhage, the son of General Janssens, Dr. Lichtenstein (tutor to this boy and Surgeon-Major of the Pandours), and officers, maids, drivers, mechanics and clerks, with baggage, wagons and oxen befitting the progress of a high personage. The tour covered the whole colony, and extended from Cape

Town to Saldanha Bay in the west and Kaffirland in the east, and its chief result was a redistribution of the boundaries of the various districts. Up to this time there had been four districts—the Cape, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Graaff Reinet. De Mist cut off the southern portion of the large and unwieldy district of Graaff Reinet, and to this new district Janssens gave the name of Uitenhage, a family name of the de Mists borne by the Commissary-General's daughter. Captain Alberti, Commandant of Fort Frederick, was appointed

Founda-
tion of
Uiten-
hage.

The Cape under Batavian Republic 149

Landdrost. At the same time the northern portion of the Stellenbosch district was cut off and named Tulbagh, the town being planned near the beautiful little Roodezand church, built in 1743, and Hendrik van de Graaff being appointed Landdrost. The Drostdy was built by the clever officer of engineers, Louis Thibault, and stands to this day as a fine example of his work. The name of de Mist is also associated with his grant of arms to the City of Cape Town. Uitenhage had been given, on its foundation, the arms of the de Mists, and de Mist now suggested that the Mother City of South Africa should bear the arms of Jan van Riebeeck, the founder of the colony. The City Fathers possess the silver seal which he presented to the Burgher Senate, and over the old Watch House built by Ryk Tulbagh and on the walls of the new City Hall of modern Cape Town hang the arms, in accordance with his words :

Grant of
arms to
Cape
Town.

‘The anchor symbolizing Good Hope, as well as the gold ground on which this anchor rests, indicates my wish for the future wealth and prosperity of this settlement, while the same is covered and protected with a red shield, bearing three gold rings, the coat of arms which we know was borne by your father and founder, van Riebeeck. Hang then this coat of arms in his honour within and without on the walls of your Town House.’

To Stellenbosch, he suggested, should be granted the arms of van der Stel, to Swellendam those of Swellengrebel.

De Mist appointed a Commission to promote improvements in agriculture and stock-breeding—especially in that matter of wool-bearing sheep which had been so close to the heart of Willem Adriaan van der Stel, but which subsequent generations had ignored. Under de

Useful
measures
taken by
de Mist.

Mist's directions also efforts were made to improve the wine of the country and to induce the farmers to grow olives, subjects which had received comparatively little attention for nearly a century.

Religious toleration marked his administration, and in July, 1804, he decreed that all religious bodies should be free to hold their services in Cape Town, a permission hitherto accorded only to the Dutch Reformed and—but grudgingly—the Lutheran Churches. Government schools were founded by him in Cape Town, but the country districts refused to support any schools which were not under the direct control of the Dutch Reformed ministers—with the result that the majority of places remained without schools.

Education
at the
Cape.

Education, to judge by the statements of travellers who visited South Africa at this period, had almost died out in the country places, and even in Cape Town was not on a very high level. On the farms an itinerant 'schoolmaster', who was usually a retired soldier, would be engaged for a few months, to teach the rudiments of reading and writing to the children, after which he would pass on to another farm. This, again, is one of the things which we must realize if we would understand many South African problems. In those districts which were cut off from all educational facilities, and where people could not afford to send their sons to Holland for their education (as some families did), it is not surprising that many of the descendants of the Huguenots and of van der Stel's burghers gradually became limited in their mental outlook, though with a fine ruggedness and manliness induced by living face to face with primitive nature. The country districts were exclusively Calvinist, and regarded with alarm de Mist's measure which secured liberty of worship for

those of other creeds. As for education, they said, it was far better to have none than to have schools under the control of a Government which held what seemed to them too tolerant an outlook.

And because it has been truly said that what ye sow ye shall also reap, the children of the back-veld grew up having learned to shoot straight and ride well, but wholly uneducated. It is difficult to realize these things to-day, when the smallest dorp has its school-house. But, if we would understand South Africa and her history, we must remember that the day is not long past when it was possible for the Dutch Reformed minister to be the only man of education in the village.

In Cape Town, on the other hand, education, even if not of the highest, was within the reach of all, and there was a pleasant interchange of ideas and news when the great fleets of the Company and of friendly nations anchored in Table Bay. Many men of many nations, from the envoys of Louis XIV to Wellington and Clive, trod the streets of old Cape Town. The Government House in the gardens has sheltered most of the men who in past generations ventured forth into the mysterious East. She is older than Petrograd, this Mother City of South Africa, and her great mountain has looked down on all that has gone to the making of our great Indian Empire of to-day and of Holland's Eastern dominion in the past.

We must keep these two aspects of South Africa in sight if we would understand her to-day. Cape Town, which was the busy, thronged gateway of the Orient, with its comfortable, beautiful houses, its prosperous people and its rich hinterland of Stellenbosch, Paarl, and Tulbagh on the one hand. On the other the up-country farms, where men led silent, solitary lives, face

to face with danger and wielding alternately the gun and the spade in their difficult struggle for existence.

De Mist, having created a measure of religious freedom and provided for the establishment of good schools in Cape Town, prepared to return to Europe. He placed all authority in the hands of General Janssens, who, as a soldier, was better qualified to face the serious problem of resistance to an English invasion.

On February 24, 1805, de Mist sailed, and Janssens was left to his anxious watch and ward.

1805.
Departure of
de Mist.

CHAPTER XV

THE SECOND COMING OF THE ENGLISH

TOWARDS the end of the year 1805 a stormy petrel arrived off the Cape in the form of a French privateer, chased ashore by an English frigate. Three days later came another, followed by another, with the news that a great English fleet was on its southward way, and was but a few days distant from Table Bay.

1805.
The
warning.

This was the squadron of sixty-three ships under Commodore Home Popham, with troops on board under the command of Major-General Sir David Baird, sent by the English Government to take possession of the Cape of Good Hope. There was reason to think that Napoleon had already dispatched French troops for the same purpose, and the force sent was, therefore, a strong one. The military forces consisted of between six and seven thousand men, and were composed of the 24th, 38th, 59th, 71st, 72nd, 83rd and 93rd Line regiments, the 20th Light Dragoons, and about 800 Artillerymen and recruits.

Sir David Baird had been stationed at the Cape during the first British occupation, and therefore knew its fortifications well. He had seen considerable military service in India, where he had been taken prisoner by Hyder Ali, the Mysore chief, and kept in rigorous captivity for four years. With a wound from which the bullet was not extracted until after his release, he was chained to a fellow-prisoner, and it is told of his mother, a dour old Scots lady, that her only comment on hearing the news was, 'Lord help the lad that's chained to

oor Davie'. During his second term of service in India he had led the storming party at the successful assault of Seringapatam, and had afterwards co-operated with Sir Ralph Abercromby in expelling the French from Egypt.



SIR DAVID BAIRD

Arrival of
English
squadron.

Janssens was not long left in suspense. On the morning of January 4, 1805, the signalman on the Lion's Head notified Cape Town of the approach of a large squadron, and that night the British fleet anchored between Blaauwberg and Robben Island. A violent wind sprang up before morning, and a portion of the troops was sent by sea to Saldanha Bay under the com-



THE TAKING OF THE CAPE

mand of Brigadier-General Beresford, in the hope that a landing might be more easily effected there. Shortly afterwards, however, the wind dropped, and preparations were made to land the Highland Brigade at Melkbosch Point. A small ship was run ashore to afford protection from the heavy waves which the storm had left behind, and the boats passed swiftly between the ships and the shore. The *Diadem*, *Encounter*, *Leda* and *Protector* trained their heavy guns on the beach, where, from the shelter of the sand-hills the Jager Regiment was keeping up an incessant fire. Apparently, their aim was not good, for no one was killed, the only catastrophe which attended the landing being the wounding of two men and the capsizing of a boat from the *Charlotte*, when thirty-six gallant men of the 93rd Highlanders were drowned, cheering as they sank beneath the heavy waves.

General Janssens and his troops had left Cape Town when the fleet was signalled—Count van Prophalow having been left at Cape Town as Commandant—and the Dutch forces were lying at Riet Vlei, on the southern side of the Blaauwberg. Early on the morning of January 8 Janssens moved his men forward, in the hope of reaching the crest of the hill before the British landing operations could be completed. Sir David Baird had, however, moved so rapidly, despite the heavy sand and thick bush, that within a short time of landing he had four thousand men on the hill-top, looking down on the advancing army of the Dutch. From that moment there was no doubt as to the result of the battle. General Janssens was as brave a soldier as Sir David Baird himself, but he knew the worthlessness of the majority of the troops under him, and not all his zeal, nor the urgency of his appeals, could inspire them with

The
battle of
Blaauw-
berg.

his own gallant spirit. It is true that he could count upon the mounted burghers, but the greater part of his men were German mercenaries and French soldiers drawn from the ships which had been driven ashore earlier. He was well equipped with guns and horses, but beneath all lay the disheartening conviction that defeat was, in the long run, inevitable. To quote his own words, he 'was fully convinced in his own mind that victory was impossible, but the honour of the Fatherland required him to fight, whatever the result might be'.

The Waldeck Regiment, inspired by no such sentiment, quickly gave way before the British advance, and the remainder of the battle is best described in General Janssens's report :

The
Waldeck
Regiment.

'The General threw himself among them, conjuring them by their former renown, the honour of Germany and of Waldeck, their beloved Prince, and whatever more he was able to adduce, to remain firm, and to show that they were soldiers worthy of the name. But neither this nor the request of their officers availed the least. They did not retreat but shamefully fled, and had he, the General, remained a longer time amongst them, they might have dragged him along with them for a while in their flight. He therefore left the cowards and joined the braver French, who were still maintaining their ground. Seeing, to his soul's distress, that the left wing of the 22nd battalion was giving way, he called on them also to stand firm, and they both heard and obeyed him. But the disorder had become too great to enable us to restore the line, and the French, deserted right and left, were finally also compelled to retreat with heavy loss. Colonel Gaudin Bouchier and the officer du Belloy, a nephew of the Archbishop of Paris, held their ground the longest, and the last-named was severely wounded. Riding farther straight along the line, the General found the Grenadiers and Chasseurs

also retreating, but not flying. The dragoons had formed together, and upon his order marched off. He sent the Adjutant-General Rancke, and later Colonel Henry, in advance to the Riet Vlei, in order to rally the retreating troops and to form a new position there, whilst, with the officers who were round him, he kept in the rear of the retreating columns.'

The braver elements under Janssens had somewhat redeemed the cowardice of the Waldeck Regiment, and the British troops lost over two hundred officers and men—the Dutch losses being three hundred and forty-seven.

The Dutch General retired on the Hottentots' Holland, hoping against hope that, even if the Cape Peninsula were lost, it might still be possible to retain the rest of the Cape Colony for the Batavian Republic. His temporary head-quarters were at the old homestead of Meerlust near Faure, once Henning Huysing's house, and here—so the story goes—the commander of the Waldeck Regiment came to apologize for the cowardice of his men. Janssens was sitting on the raised stoep at the side of the house, and report says that he kicked the apologetic officer down the steps—all his lost illusions and vain efforts finding relief in that kick. Meanwhile, the British forces, having rested for a while, marched on to Riet Vlei, where they halted for the night. On the morning of January 19, 1806, they marched towards Cape Town, being met at Salt River by a deputation with a flag of truce, sent by van Prophalow with the request that hostilities might be suspended for forty-eight hours and the terms of capitulation arranged.

The
capitula-
tion of
the Cape.

At four o'clock on the following afternoon van Prophalow met Baird and Popham at a little thatched

The Second Coming of the English 159

homestead near Papendorp, which to-day is Woodstock, and there the articles of capitulation were signed, by which the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope passed once more into the possession of Great Britain. It is said that at the moment in which the capitulation was being signed within the house the band outside struck up 'God save the King', and that Baird sent out a messenger to stop the music, out of consideration for his late opponents.

Janssens, meanwhile, remained at Hottentots' Holland, and the guns with which he was prepared to oppose any further advance of the British may be seen to-day at Stellenbosch. He was a wise man, however, as well as a brave one, and when he realized that the position was hopeless he yielded, though with sorrow, in order to save the land from the misery which a useless resistance would have entailed. If we glance at the correspondence which passed between Baird and Janssens at this moment we are left with a pleasant impression of two gallant and courteous soldiers.

'Sir,' writes Baird, 'You have discharged your Duty to your Country as became a brave Man at the head of a gallant tho' feeble Army. I know how to respect the high qualities of such a Man, and I do not doubt that that Humanity which ever characterizes an intrepid Soldier will now operate in your Breast to check the fatal consequences of futile Contest.' And so forth.

Janssens in reply is equally fine.

'No choice is left us but our honour. . . . If there are terms that possibly can procure an accommodation, then the same only proceeds from the love and gratitude I owe the Colonists.'

Janssens rode out with all the honours of war. The officers retained their swords and horses, and the army

its private property. As for the Waldeck Regiment, Janssens had sent it back in disgrace to Cape Town, where it is to be hoped it received the reception which it deserved. At the roll-call after the battle only fifty-two officers and men answered to their names out of a battalion four hundred strong—the balance having deserted.

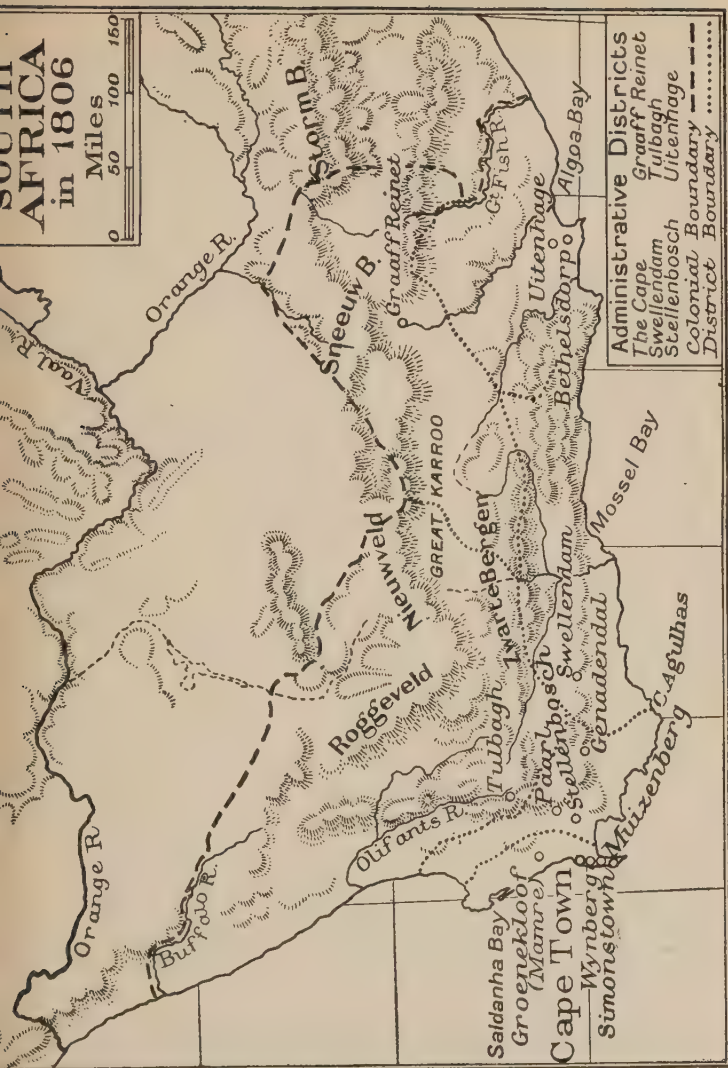
1806.
Departure of
Janssens.

On March 6, 1806, General Janssens set sail for Europe, accompanied by thirty-one civil servants, ninety-four officers, and five hundred and seventy-three men—a squadron of seven ships having been placed at his disposal by the British Government. As, from the stern of the *Bellona*, he saw the lights of Cape Town fade into the night and the great grey mountain which keeps watch and ward over the gateway of South Africa melt into the clouds, his heart must have been heavy within him. But he took with him the memory of a gallant fight against overwhelming odds, a struggle to maintain the flag of the weakened Batavian Republic which could have but one end. And for us his name is written amongst the names of those who 'loved and served South Africa'.

And now, for a time, a calm that was almost dullness descended upon the Cape. In Europe great events were stirring men's hearts. The two years which had preceded the taking of the Cape had been of tremendous importance, ushering in the final struggle between Napoleon and Great Britain, while Germany was slowly awakening to the new life which lay before her, could the grip of Napoleon be shaken off.

Sir David
Baird as
Acting-
Governor.

But while the nations of Europe were absorbed in a struggle only less fierce than that which our own day has seen, the Colony of the far-off Cape of Good Hope was settling down under the new rule. Sir David Baird,



who was appointed Acting-Governor, did not feel justified in doing more than was necessary for the bare governing of the colony until instructions could be received from England. Meanwhile he administered affairs with tact and kindness and won the goodwill of the people.

Many of the officials of the Batavian Republic were found willing to take the oaths of allegiance to the King of England. Mr. Olof Gottlieb de Wet was re-appointed to the Presidentship of the High Court of Justice, the post which he had held during the first British occupation ; Mr. Beelaarts van Blokland, formerly Attorney-General, became Secretary to the Government, and Mr. Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld accepted the post of Fiscal. Captain Jacob Glen Cuyler of the 59th Regiment, the son of an American gentleman of Dutch descent who had sided with England in the War of Independence, replaced Captain Alberti as Commandant of Fort Frederick (Algoa Bay) and Acting Landdrost of Uitenhage.

Meanwhile, the French fleet under Admiral Villeaumez, which had been sent by Napoleon to take the Cape, received news of its capture by the British and stood away to the West Indies. Sir Home Popham, on hearing that the Cape was no longer in danger of attack, came to Sir David Baird with a suggestion which had been in his mind ever since an interview with Pitt and Melville before he left England, and in which he supposed that he had secured the approval of the English Government. Buenos Ayres, Popham said, was the most important port on the South American coast, with a rich hinterland. True, it belonged to Spain—but Spain was in alliance with Napoleon, and therefore no friend to England, while the inhabitants of

The Second Coming of the English 163

Buenos Ayres were discontented and the garrison feeble. If Baird would only give him a regiment, a few artillerymen and some light guns, he would undertake to capture the place, and to hold it for the glory of England until an army of possession could be sent out. At first Baird refused to take any part in the project, but the Commodore urged that he had put the whole scheme before Pitt and Melville, that he understood that it had their approval, and—finally and conclusively—that, whether the Government and Baird approved or not, he intended to make the attempt.

With some misgivings Baird gave him the troops for which he had asked, and Popham sailed away cheerfully, calling at St. Helena on his journey and bewitching the Commander of the island into giving him another detachment of infantry. Buenos Ayres, taken by surprise, yielded with little delay, and Popham established himself in the city, awaiting the army of occupation which he had asked England to send. Before this could be dispatched, however, his fortunes met with a sudden reverse. The Spaniards rose in overwhelming numbers, and Popham and his little force were taken prisoners. Meanwhile, the government of Pitt had been succeeded by that of Lord Grenville, with Charles James Fox as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the new ministry had little hesitation in condemning the luckless adventure. Popham was recalled to England, censured by court-martial for leaving his station, but presented with a sword of honour by the City of London for his endeavours ‘to open new markets’.

Baird was less fortunate. Recalled by the Whig Government from the Governorship of the Cape, for his share in the enterprise, he was overwhelmed with grief

Recall of
Baird.

and dismay. Pitt was dead, and there was no one to speak in his favour. He 'had won the Cape gallantly and ruled it wisely', writes Ian Colvin, 'but for this he received neither recognition nor reward. On the contrary, he was recalled in disgrace.'

Like Willem Adriaan van der Stel, he had loved the Cape, and several years later petitioned, as he had done, to be allowed to return to it and end his days in the shadow of Table Mountain. But the Seventeen were not alone in their inability to value aright a man who had served his country faithfully, and Baird's petition was refused—as van der Stel's had been a century earlier.

CHAPTER XVI

THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

ON January 7, 1807, the newly appointed Commander of the Forces, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry George Grey, landed and took the oaths of office as Acting-Governor. Sir David Baird sailed for England on the following day.

Three months later, the actual Governor, du Pré Alexander, Earl of Caledon, landed and took over the administration. He was accompanied by Mr. Andrew Barnard, who resumed his old post as Colonial Secretary, while Captain Christopher Bird was appointed Deputy Secretary. Mr. Barnard died at the Cape, before his wife had carried out her intention of following him.

1807.
Lord
Caledon
as
Governor.

Lord Caledon was a young man—only twenty-nine years of age—but with a character marked by decision and considerable ability. He was a civilian, and on his arrival found himself somewhat hampered by the want of military training, for, though matters at the Cape itself were fast settling down, the frontier was as unsettled as it had been in its worst days, and the new Governor's knowledge of the measures necessary to restore peace was slender.

One of his first acts, therefore, was to dispatch Lieutenant-Colonel Collins to the scene of trouble, with orders to report on the actual state of affairs and to ascertain whether it would be possible to capture deserters and runaway slaves who had fled into Kaffir-

Andries
Stocken-
strom.

Hintsa.

land and were likely to prove a source of fresh difficulties. On this journey Colonel Collins fell in with a young man named Andries Stockenstrom, who was on his way to join his father, the Landdrost of Graaff Reinet, but who consented to accompany Collins as Dutch interpreter and secretary. The journey was extended to Kaffirland, where they visited the chief Hintsa, paramount chief of the Kosa tribe (which included the Gaika and Galeka clans), at his kraal on the east of the Kei River, where the town of Butterworth now stands. Here they received a friendly welcome and promises of assistance from the chief, who was afterwards to figure so prominently in the story of Sir Harry Smith, and who was described by the latter as 'though black, the very image of poor dear George IV'.

Gaika.

Hintsa, it must be kept in mind, was paramount chief of Kaffirland, and Gaika and Ndhlabi (who was still in the Zuurveld) and Cungwa and others were subordinate to him, with petty chiefs under them. From Hintsa's kraal the expedition went to Gaika's country, west of the Kei River. Here too they received a welcome, and their presents were accepted eagerly, for Gaika was both poor and grasping. On Colonel Collins explaining that the field-cornets—the officers under the Landdrost—must be allowed to visit the territory from time to time in order to search for deserters, the chief offered no objection, but on hearing that the Government did not wish his people to cross the Fish River for the purpose of begging and stealing from the frontier Boers, he unfolded an odd love story.

He, Gaika, was betrothed to a damsel whose father demanded twenty head of cattle as lobola—that is, the price paid for a wife. The bridegroom had recently been robbed of nearly all his cattle by his uncle

Ndhlambi, and was at that moment contemplating a journey across the river for the purpose of ' begging ' the twenty cattle from the Boers. Speaking as man to man, Colonel Collins must surely see the difficulty of his position and would not enforce the regulation so far as he was concerned ? Moved probably by diplomacy rather than romance, the Commissioner promised that the cattle should be supplied through the Landdrost of Graaff Reinet and went on his way to Ndhlambi's kraal, west of the Great Fish River, for it will be remembered that the chief had refused to leave the Zuurveld and nobody had been strong enough to force him to do so. Ndhlambi.

Ndhlambi, though not paramount chief in name, was at that moment the richest and most powerful of the Kaffirs—and as he was also the least well-disposed towards the white man the journey was attended with some danger. Colonel Collins was received in great state, according to native ideas, but Ndhlambi showed little disposition to meet the wishes of the Government, stating that, though he was willing to restrain his young men from begging cattle from the Boers, he himself expected to be given all the cattle for which he asked. The little group of white men was powerless in the presence of the great concourse of Ndhlambi's savage warriors armed with glittering assegais, and Colonel Collins, having presented the gifts sent by the Government, took farewell of the chief, feeling that little had been achieved by his visit.

Cungwa's kraal, near the Sunday River, was next visited, but the chief was absent and the party rode on to Uitenhage. Here, with the concurrence of the Landdrost, Major Cuyler, Colonel Collins issued a proclamation forbidding any intercourse between the white colonists and the Kaffirs. On his return to Cape Town

he recommended, as others had done before him, that the Kaffirs should be compelled to keep to the eastern side of the Great Fish River, and that the frontier should be strengthened by the addition of more colonists along its thinly populated hundred-mile-long border. It was sound advice, but at the moment the Government had no means of enforcing it.

Bethels-
dorp.

Before leaving the eastern district Colonel Collins had visited Bethelsdorp, the Hottentot Mission Station, which, it will be remembered, had been placed under the control of Dr. Vanderkemp of the London Missionary Society. He found the settlement in a very insani-tary and unsatisfactory condition. In his zeal for the Hottentots and his desire to protect them from any harshness on the part of the farmers, Dr. Vanderkemp had gathered together a large number of these natives, who were now living in idleness and slothful habits. The Mission had, moreover, been opened by him to Kaffirs—though in the prohibited area—and had become a harbour of refuge for bad characters from the native territory.

Colonel Collins recommended that the efforts of the London Missionary Society should be confined to the Bushmen and Hottentots in the more northern districts, and Lord Caledon arranged a meeting between Dr. Vanderkemp, the Landdrost of Swellendam, and Mr. George Rex, an Englishman living in that district, at which the question of moving the Mission was considered. Dr. Vanderkemp was, however, opposed to the suggested removal, and remained at Bethelsdorp until his death in 1812. After that date matters at Bethelsdorp improved and the Hottentots began to lead more useful lives.

On the whole, Colonel Collins accomplished little by

his journey, but he acquired much useful knowledge of the three problems of the frontier—the Boers, the natives, and the missionaries.

District
of George
formed.

During Lord Caledon's administration the district of George was formed out of a portion of Swellendam district and received its name from the King. In 1807 the Moravian missionaries who had founded Genadendal in 1792 were given land at Groenekloof, about thirty miles from Cape Town, and here they established the mission station of Mamre, where the Hottentots were trained in good and cleanly habits. Unlike the London Missionaries, the Moravian missionaries held aloof from politics and devoted their lives to teaching the women to sew and the men to dig and delve, and, above all, to planting Christianity in the hearts of the little Hottentots.

Mauri-
tius.

It was during the Caledon administration too that the island of Mauritius was taken from the French by British troops, partly drawn from the Cape garrison.

Lord Caledon was a practical man, and to him Cape Town owed the laying down of iron pipes by which an adequate supply of water was secured. His term of office was marked by tact, judgement, and consideration for the people whom he had been sent to govern. He resigned his post in July 1811, owing to his approaching marriage.

1811.
Sir John
Cradock.

His successor was Lieutenant-General Sir John Cradock, who had been the Duke of Wellington's predecessor as Commander-in-Chief of the English army in Portugal during the Peninsular War, and was afterwards Governor of Gibraltar. He was a distinguished soldier of good family and high character, and his wife was Lady Theodosia Meade, daughter of the first Earl of Clanwilliam.

Beginning of Nineteenth Century 171

Sir John Cradock arrived at the Cape on September 11, 1811. Immediately after his arrival began the fourth Kaffir War, undertaken with the object of driving the Kaffirs across the Fish River and leaving the district west of that boundary in the undisturbed occupation of the white settlers. The troops were under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham, an officer who had served with great distinction in the Peninsular War, and consisted of the Cape Regiment of Hottentots, a few European soldiers, and the Burgher forces. Landdrost Stockenstrom was in control at Graaff Reinet, Major Cuyler at Uitenhage, and amongst the Commandants and burghers were men who bore the familiar names of Botha, van Heerden, du Plessis, Pretorius, and Hattingh. The interpreter was a half-breed named Philip du Buys, son of that Conraad du Buys who had settled in Kaffirland and married the mother of Gaika.

1812.
The
fourth
Kaffir
War.

Colonel Graham was instructed by the Governor to use persuasion in the first instance to induce the Kaffirs to return to Kaffirland, and only to resort to force when that failed. Major Cuyler was therefore sent to Cungwa's kraal, with a small escort, and was met with fair words and held in speech while the Kaffir warriors gradually surrounded him. Suddenly Ndhlabi emerged from the throng and gave a signal by blowing loudly on a horn. There was a wild rush of Kaffirs, a shower of assegais, and Major Cuyler and his escort only escaped with their lives by clapping spurs to their horses and galloping away.

In the north Landdrost Stockenstrom was less fortunate. Setting out from Graaff Reinet with a small party he met a number of Kaffirs under the chief Kasa. The same tactics were repeated, the white men held in talk and gradually surrounded. Then, at the given

signal, the warriors rushed in and Stockenstrom and all his men save four were stabbed to death. The murder was avenged by his young son, Andries Stockenstrom, who followed up Kasa's men and killed sixteen. During the first week of January 1812 the combined forces under Colonel Graham met in the Addo Bush, near the stronghold of the Gunekwebe tribe of Kaffirs. Here 250 head of cattle were captured and about twelve Kaffirs killed—among them the chief Cungwa. Field-Cornet Nortier was the only white man killed. Under cover of Cungwa's resistance, Ndhlambi, pursued by Colonel Graham, made his escape across the Great Fish River into Kaffirland, where he was followed by the majority of the Zuurveld Kaffirs. A few petty chiefs and their followers remained in the Zuurberg and Rietberg mountains, and here the Cape Regiment showed that genius for guerrilla warfare which is a characteristic of South Africa, dislodging the lingering Kaffirs in twelve days.

The
problems
of the
frontier.

In thinking of these frontier wars we must be just to both sides. It was, as we have seen earlier, the inevitable conflict between civilization and the wild man, and if it was necessary for the welfare of South Africa that the white man should have land whereon to herd his cattle and grow his corn, the desire of the Kaffir to hold on to the land which he had taken from the Hottentot on his southward progress was every whit as strong. But the Zuurveld had been occupied until a few years earlier by the Hottentots, who had been driven out by a Kaffir horde under Tshaka, the father of Cungwa. Therefore the land was not even the heritage of the Kaffir, but of the Hottentot.

Peace on
the
frontier.

Six months after his arrival Sir John Cradock was able to look with satisfaction on a peaceful frontier, the

Beginning of Nineteenth Century 173

result of the determined measures taken by his orders. The Kaffirs were assured of the goodwill of the Government as long as they remained on their own side of the Great Fish River, grain was given them for planting, and a certain amount of cattle. In order to uphold law and order on the frontier two deputy-Landdrosts were appointed, Captain Fraser for Uitenhage, and Andries Stockenstrom for Graaff Reinet. The latter—at that time only twenty years old—held his court at van Staden's Dam, which in the following year was named



GUARD HOUSE, GRAHAMSTOWN

Cradock. Military head-quarters near the border were needed for the permanent station of the Cape Regiment, and the spot eventually chosen by Colonel Graham was a farm near the source of the Kowie River, north of Fort Frederick. To this farm, formerly the property of Lucas Meyer, he was taken by Andries Stockenstrom, and in the middle of what is now the High Street of Grahamstown he sat under the shade of a great mimosa and resolved to establish a military station on that spot. To-day Grahamstown is an important educational centre, it is famous for its schools and its roses, but on that day in May more than a hundred years ago it clanked

Grahams-
town
founded.

to the sound of scabbard and spur as the troops rode in from distant veld and mountain and settled down to the guardianship of the frontier.

Men almost dared to hope that a lasting peace had been established, but before many months had passed the Kaffirs gradually began to drift back across the river to the Zuurveld. The white man's cattle was irresistible—did not cattle mean riches and power and wives? So, little by little, the quarterly returns of depredations mounted up, until in November 1813 they showed the theft of 1,000 head of cattle and the murder of five Hottentot servants during that month alone.

The first
Circuit
Court.

Meanwhile Sir John Cradock was occupied in various projects for the just administration of that distant part of the British Empire which he had been sent to govern. The establishment of additional magistracies on the frontier necessitated a system of judicial inspection, and in October 1811 the first Circuit Court left Cape Town, with a commission to try all important cases, examine into the administration of the Landdrosts, and report upon the condition of the various districts. The first circuit judges were the Chief Justice Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld and Judges Diemel and Fagel of the High Court of Justice.

The second Circuit Court was held in 1812, a commission consisting of two judges—Messrs. Pieter Laurens Cloete and Strubberg—being appointed to deal with the frontier districts, and especially to inquire into the charges of cruelty towards the Hottentots on the part of the frontier Boers. These charges were brought by the Bethelsdorp missionaries, and there were some cases in which the Boers were convicted of great inhumanity and others in which the charges fell to the ground. In

Beginning of Nineteenth Century 175

its report the Commission wrote as follows of the Bethelsdorp Mission :

‘The late Dr. Vanderkemp established such an overstrained principle of liberty as the ground-work that the natural state of the barbarians appears there to supersede civilization and social order.’

It is one of many South African questions on which honest people hold absolutely conflicting views, but it must not be forgotten that the missionaries were devoted men who had given up their lives to the conversion of the natives. From the point of view of the Hottentots, the original owners of the land, the frontier Boers were interlopers and oppressors, and this view was endorsed by the policy of Dr. Vanderkemp. The Boer, on the other hand, felt a keen desire to escape from all that governments had meant to him in the past and to establish himself in the new land, on which he could only see himself as the owner of the wide veld and the Hottentot as his serf.

The Commission having found that some of the charges against the Boers were proved and others exaggerated or untrue, proceeded to clear the character of Colonel Cuyler, the Landdrost of Uitenhage, which had been very unjustly smirched in the general mud-throwing. A most uncomfortable place the frontier must have been a century ago for every one concerned.

Sir John Cradock, having established the Circuit Court, altered the system of land tenure to one by which ground should be held on what is known as quit-rent, instead of loan, improved the conditions of education and founded free schools, applied to be allowed to return to England. Before his departure in May 1814 he made an extended tour of the colony, with a view to informing the English Government of the conditions

of the country which they had hitherto held by right of conquest, and which was in this year formally ceded to England by Holland, on the return to power, as William I, King of the Netherlands, of the Prince of Orange, son of the Stadtholder who had been an exile in England. In return, Holland received the sum of £6,000,000 as part of the discharge of her heavy liabilities towards Sweden, the cost of her defences, and the re-settlement of the country under the Prince of Orange.

Sir John Cradock is commemorated in the town which bears his name, and the residence of the deputy-Landdrost of Tulbagh was called Clanwilliam in honour of his wife's family, while to that of the deputy-Landdrost of Swellendam he gave the name of Caledon.

He had been a good Governor, and had the unusual fortune of leaving behind him a grateful country.

CHAPTER XVII

FROM 1814 TO 1820

ON April 6, 1814, Lieutenant-General Lord Charles 1814.
Henry Somerset was sworn-in as Governor of the Cape Lord
of Good Hope. He was the second son of the Duke of Charles
Somerset.



LORD CHARLES SOMERSET

Beaufort, and was the type of a hard-living, hard-hunting squire, of an overbearing disposition, but with a distinct sense of responsibility towards the country which he had been sent to govern. He had little tact

and made many enemies, but at the same time several measures for the improvement of the colony were due to him.

To his credit lies the foundation of the Cape Town Public Library, the necessary funds being raised by a tax of one rix-dollar—then equivalent to eighteen pence—on every cask of wine or spirits which entered Cape Town. The money was placed in the hands of a committee which purchased books, and to these was soon afterwards added the collection which had been bequeathed by Nicolaas van Dessin in 1761. In 1860 the Library was transferred to its present quarters in the gardens from the room which it had occupied in a wing of the Commercial Exchange. During Lord Charles Somerset's administration, too, the South African Museum was founded by Dr. Andrew Smith, and the Old Somerset Hospital, for merchant seamen, slaves, and poor people, established by Dr. Bailly.

Early in his term of office Lord Charles established a large government farm in the Boschberg, for the purpose of supplying the troops on the frontier with oat hay and flour, and for making experiments in tobacco growing. This farm subsequently grew into the village of Somerset East. The experimental farm which had previously been established at Groote Post he took into his own hands, and at his own expense imported many fine pedigree horses, thereby greatly improving the breed of Cape horses. It was all done in his own high-handed way, and he gave offence to many people in the doing, but the country was the better for it.

1815.
Slachter's
Nek.

In 1815—the year of Waterloo—occurred the episode of Slachter's Nek, which has been surrounded by much misunderstanding, and to which a racial significance has

sometimes been given which is not warranted by the simple facts.

The frontier farmers, as we know, employed as labourers the Hottentots, who had been their predecessors in the land. As we also know, the Commission sent by Lord Caledon to inquire into the charges of cruelty on the part of the employers—a Commission composed of Dutch judges—had found that some of the charges were proved, while others were groundless or exaggerated. Therefore it would have been wisdom on the part of Frederick Bezuidenhout—a farmer of the district now known as Glen Lynden—if he had complied with the summons to appear before the deputy-Landdrost of Graaff Reinet, Andries Stockenstrom, to answer a charge of detaining a Hottentot servant against his will. Twice he was summoned, twice he refused. Finally, the Field Cornet Opperman was instructed to have him arrested, and sent for the purpose an official named Johannes Londt, Lieutenant Rousseau, and Lieutenant Mackay, with an escort of a sergeant and fourteen men of the Hottentot Corps—the regiment which had been raised to guard the frontier.

Bezuidenhout, with two others, entrenched themselves, well armed, in a cave formed by large rocks, and refused to surrender to the officers, though assured of a safe-conduct to the magistracy. At last the order was given to rush the cave, the sergeant of the Hottentot corps being the first to scale the rocks. As he reached the level the men below saw a rifle thrust forward and shouted to warn the sergeant, who fired into the cave before the rifle could be discharged, and Bezuidenhout was killed.

It is clear that Bezuidenhout met his death in resisting the lawful summons sent by Landdrost Stockenstrom.

But over his grave fierce funeral orations were delivered by his brother Johannes and others, and a revolt planned which would end in 'driving the English into the sea'—regardless of the fact that no Englishman had been responsible for Bezuidenhout's arrest or death. It was the old story of revolt against authority, and the flame of rebellion was fanned by a Boer named Hendrik Prinsloo, who threw himself into the matter with ardour, riding from farm to farm in the Zuurveld, stirring up bad feeling, and telling the farmers that the new system of quit-rent was a device of the English to ruin them. Very like the story of van der Stel over again, is it not?

Not content with stirring up the Boers, Prinsloo resorted to the shameful expedient of calling on the Kaffirs to aid in the work of driving out all white men who represented authority. Rousseau was to be murdered, so was van der Graaff, the deputy-Landdrost of Cradock. No farmer who remained loyal to the Government should be allowed to retain his cattle, decreed the leaders of the rebellion. The Kaffirs were to have these, also the cattle of the troops, and they would be given all the Zuurveld—if only Gaika would join them in their schemes, or so they said.

A Boer named Faber was put in command of the expedition sent to interview Gaika, to communicate these proposals to him, and to represent to him that Colonel Cuyler, Landdrost of Uitenhage, intended to visit him and shoot him treacherously. As a matter of fact, Colonel Cuyler was at that moment engaged in writing earnest appeals to the rebels to desist from their mad and wicked schemes.

'Spare your blood,' he wrote, 'it depends on yourselves. . . . Judge of yourselves, burghers, whether any

injury or injustice had been done you. Let two of your most sensible men come to me, and I shall do you justice whenever you bring a just case before me. The two persons who may come to me shall be sent back without any hindrance.'

His efforts were useless. Johannes Bezuidenhout, Prinsloo, and the rest of the rebels continued to set the country aflame, and at last the Landdrost led an expedition against them. At the moment when a fight was imminent, at a place called Slachter's Nek, news reached the rebel Boers that Gaika had decided not to join them. Panic-stricken, a number of them threw down their arms; the remainder fled, but were pursued and captured by a force under Major Fraser—making a final resistance, in which Johannes Bezuidenhout was killed.

The ringleaders were tried before Judges Hiddingh and Diemal, with Mr. Beelaerts van Blokland as Secretary, and six of them were condemned to death. One of these, an old man named Willem Frederick Kruger, was, however, pardoned by Lord Charles Somerset; the remainder were executed.

This is the story of Slachter's Nek, and it is necessary that the main points should be grasped clearly, for much harm has been done by representing it as a racial matter. It was a rebellion organized against law and order, and it has been truly said:

'The Dutch were as much concerned in hanging the rebels as the English. Dutchmen were in command of the forces that attacked them; a Dutch official prosecuted them; a Dutch judge sentenced them; a Dutch magistrate hanged them; and all that the English Governor did was to pardon one of them.'¹

¹ Ian Colvin, *The Romance of South Africa*. This view has recently been endorsed in a speech made by ex-President Reitz.

182 History of South Africa

1817. In 1817 Lord Charles Somerset visited the frontier,
The in the hope of making it clear to the Kaffirs that the
frontier. farmers were now the lawful inhabitants of the Zuurveld district, and that the thefts which had made life unbearable must cease. From the border he journeyed on to Kaffirland, and at a spot near the present town of Fort Beaufort he met Gaika, Ndhlambi, and Gaika's son Makoma. An agreement was arrived at by which Gaika promised to restrain his people from cattle-thieving, on the understanding that twice a year the Kaffirs might enter the white man's territory and proceed to Grahamstown for the purpose of trading.
- Unrest. No sooner, however, had the Governor returned to Cape Town than the cattle raids were renewed. Gaika still professed friendship, but Ndhlambi, who was far more powerful than the nominal paramount chief of the clan, refused to restore the cattle which his young men
- Makana. had stolen. His power was enormously increased at this time by the appearance on his side of a strange man whom the Kaffirs regarded with unbounded reverence, Makana the Seer, son of a petty chief named Balaia and of a woman skilful in herbals and credited with the power of divination. Makana was one of those mystic beings, half prophet, half witch-doctor, who appear from time to time amongst savage races—dominant personalities through the force exercised by dread of the supernatural. Aided by the influence of Makana the power of Ndhlambi increased, and in the winter of 1818 he defeated Gaika in the battle of Amalinde with great slaughter. At that time Gaika's allies, the white people, had been reduced in numbers by the withdrawal of British troops to India and the consequent weakening of the forts which had been established along the border

by Lord Charles Somerset. But an appeal from Gaika for help could not be ignored, and in December, 1818, an expedition under Lieutenant-Colonel Brereton was sent into Kaffirland, where much of the cattle stolen from the Boers by Ndhambi was recovered, and others taken from the Kaffirs and given in part compensation to those farmers whose cattle could not be traced. This was followed by vigorous reprisals on the part of the Kaffirs, and vast hordes of Ndhambi's warriors swept over the Zuurveld, murders and thefts marking their progress.

1818.
Fifth
Kaffir
War
begins.

Major Fraser was dispatched to Cape Town to ask for reinforcements, riding the six hundred miles in a little over six days, and troops were hastily sent to the aid of the distressed farmers. The Kaffirs were now marching on the military head-quarters of Grahamstown, and on April 22, 1819, a horde of 10,000 of Ndhambi's men swept down the slopes above the town, uttering fierce war-cries. The heroic little band of white men, 333 in all, under the command of Colonel Willshire, remained silent and invisible until the rushing wave of savage warriors was within thirty-five paces of the line of defence. Then the muskets of the defenders rang out, and the Kaffirs, who had seldom met any weapon but an assegai, fell in hundreds. The survivors rushed on, stabbing with the shafts of their assegais, but they were no match for the men with guns, for all their courage, and before long they retired, taking their dead and wounded with them.

1819.
Fight at
Grahams-
town.

Meanwhile Makana had led a fierce attack on the barracks, but here too the Kaffirs were beaten back by the weapons of the white man and forced to retire, leaving 102 dead bodies lying in the barracks square. Altogether the Kaffirs lost from 1,000 to 1,300 men,

while the casualties of the troops were three men killed and five wounded.

A punitive expedition was sent into Kaffirland three months later. It was composed of burghers, regulars, and the Cape Corps, and was entirely successful in breaking the power of Ndhlabi and scattering his following. And here comes one of those revealing side-flashes which sometimes show us how little we white folk understand the great world which lies outside our ring-fence of colour, and give us a glimpse into the great soul of a man whom we would call a savage.

One morning, when Landdrost Andries Stockenström was seated in his camp, three figures suddenly stood before him. It was Makana, the mystic Seer, followed only by two women.

‘I come’, he said, ‘as a sacrifice for my people, who are starving. Give them peace, so that they may live. To this end I am a prisoner in your hands.’

It was a fine thing, was it not? And it was done without the knowledge of his followers, who would gladly have died to save his life—as he was willing to die for them. It is well to turn aside for a moment from the record of war and strife and let our thoughts rest on this wonderful incident—for greater love hath no man than this.

His followers sent two councillors to beg for his release as soon as the news found its way to the kraals. The white man was mistaken, they said, in looking on Gaika as a friend and setting him above Ndhlabi, who with Makana would stand by them to the last moment if only they were not asked to submit to Gaika, whose ‘face is fair to you, but his heart is insincere. . . . Set Makana free, and Ndhlabi, Kobi and the others will come to you.’

The Government, however, put no trust in the fair words of the councillors, nor did they intend to prefer Ndhlabi to Gaika—and perhaps past events were a ground for their distrust. So Makana was sent to Robben Island, where political prisoners were kept, and a year later he was drowned in trying to swim to the mainland. Peace followed on his surrender, for Ndhlabi was a fugitive and there was no one to lead his people; but those who remembered Makana would not believe that he was dead, and watched for his return for a generation and more.

After this war the Government established a new boundary of Kaffirland, by which the land beyond the Great Fish River on the east, and extending as far as the Keiskama River, was taken from the Gunukwebe clan of Kaffirs and formed into a strong military reserve, a fort being begun which was named Fort Willshire. Gaika agreed to this cession of land with great reluctance, stipulating that he should retain the valley of the Tyumie River; but as a matter of fact the land was not his to cede, while the Kaffirs as a whole regarded this appropriation of territory as an act of oppression on the part of the white man.

A new
boundary.

Lord Charles Somerset supposed, however, that a lasting peace had been established on the frontier by the acquisition of this buffer strip of land, and applied to be allowed to return to England on leave of absence. He sailed in January, 1820, leaving as Acting-Governor Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin, a brilliant soldier who had served England with great distinction in India. He was at this moment visiting the Cape on sick leave, being somewhat broken in health and in great sorrow, having just lost his young wife Elizabeth Markham, whose memory is enshrined for South Africa in the

1820.
Sir
Rufane
Donkin
Acting-
Governor.

name which he bestowed on the town on the shores of Algoa Bay, which had grown round Fort Frederick and was henceforth to be known as Port Elizabeth. Here he raised a pyramid to her memory, which still looks out across the Indian Ocean to that far-off Meerut where she died and left his life desolate.

CHAPTER XVIII

1820 TO 1834

Two months after the temporary assumption of the Governorship by Sir Rufane Donkin an event occurred which had a wide influence on South Africa. This was the coming of the 1820 settlers.

The
1820
settlers.

At that period there was much distress in England, following on the general dislocation of trade during the Napoleonic wars, and the effect was felt particularly by the labouring classes. Lord Charles Somerset had suggested to the British Government that this distress might be relieved and the frontier of the Cape Colony strengthened by the addition of white families, if settlers could be sent out, drawn not only from the labouring classes but also from those who were used to the control of labour and would have some means of their own. The suggestion met with approval. The British Parliament voted £50,000 for the purpose, and between three and four thousand people were sent out by the Government. Others, who came independently, brought the number of new settlers up to 5,000.

The majority were given grants in the Zuurveld—now the Albany district—and proved a very fine type of colonist whose descendants are spread throughout the Eastern Province. At first the seasons were bad, and those settlers who were of gentle birth and unused to manual labour found life in the new land a harder matter than they had anticipated. But with pluck and dogged perseverance the land was broken up and the foundations laid of the prosperous Albany farms of to-day.

It had been Lord Charles Somerset's intention to keep the newly acquired strip of land between the Great Fish and Keiskama Rivers as a military reserve, a buffer state between the Kaffirs and the frontier farmers. Sir Rufane Donkin, however, considered that this would entail a larger military force than could be spared for the purpose, and obtained Gaika's sanction to colonize it with settlers. Gaika had originally agreed to the cession of this land on the understanding that it should only be used as a reserve, patrolled by the military. He gave his consent to the new proposal, and the ground was divided between officers of the Royal African Corps and three brothers named Benjamin, Donald, and John Moodie. Benjamin Moodie had brought out a party of Scotch mechanics three years earlier, while his brothers had held commissions in the army and navy.

The Acting-Governor went further in reversing Lord Charles Somerset's policy by stopping the work on Fort Willshire on the ground that the proposed fortress was too expensive for the requirements of the district, and erecting a small stone barrack close by. He also removed the seat of the magistracy from Grahamstown to a new township called Bathurst, which he founded near the Kowie River. The Zuurveld, the new strip, and the land between the Bushman's River and the Keiskama he formed into the Albany district, with Bathurst as the seat of government and Colonel Graham as Landdrost.

Hitherto the necessary arrangements for the landing and establishing of the settlers had been made by the Governor's son, Captain Henry Somerset, deputy-Landdrost of Uitenhage. He had done his work sympathetically and well, and bitterly resented the fact that the responsibility was now transferred to the Landdrost of

Bathurst. This change was, however, not unreasonable, Grahamstown and Uitenhage being at a great distance from the majority of the settlers, while Bathurst was practically in their midst.

In all his dealings with the settlers Sir Rufane Donkin acted with kindness and zeal for their welfare, but he was a new-comer and did not realize the full extent of the dangers of life on the border. Had he done so he would not have made the mistake of colonizing the new territory and including it in the district of Albany, thus destroying its value as a buffer between the Kaffirs and civilization. On the whole, though many of Lord Charles Somerset's actions are open to adverse criticism, he can hardly be blamed for the lively resentment he displayed on his return from England, when he was met with the news of the entire reversal of his frontier policy. Nevertheless, Sir Rufane Donkin's policy of establishing a magistracy at Bathurst had been a wise one, and when the newly returned Governor dismissed Major Jones, who had become Landdrost of Albany on Colonel Graham's death, and appointed Mr. Rivers in his place, withdrew the troops from the neighbourhood and carried the magistracy back to Grahamstown, the settlers were moved to great alarm and indignation. Many of them gave up their land rather than remain in a district which, they said, lacked sufficient protection. They regarded the action of Lord Charles as arbitrary and tyrannical, and convened indignation meetings which he met by declaring them illegal. Outward order was restored, though with a high hand, but many complaints against his methods were sent to England and caused much comment.

A Commission was sent out to inquire into the causes of discontent, and on its recommendation the British

Government decided that the Cape Colony should be divided into two provinces, the Eastern and the Western, Lord Charles Somerset to be Governor of the whole but to have civil jurisdiction over the Western Province only, Major-General Bourke being appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Province. It was also decided that a council, consisting of six members, should be appointed to confer with and advise the Governor on all matters of importance.

The proposed division of the colony was a compromise between failing to pacify the settlers and offending the great house of Beaufort, of which the Governor was a member, but before it could be carried into effect Lord Charles had again asked for leave to proceed to England, to answer the charges made against his administration, and Major-General Bourke was appointed Acting-Governor. Shortly after the arrival of Lord Charles Somerset in England there was a change in the Government. He sent in his resignation, and the charges against him were allowed to drop.

Resigna-
tion of
Lord
Charles
Somerset.

Apart from the complaints of the settlers these were chiefly charges of extravagance. He had been too sumptuously housed, the complainants said. At a time when England was feeling the heavy cost of the Continental wars, and economy was a sheer necessity, the Governor of the Cape was keeping up expensive establishments at Government House, in Cape Town and at Newlands House; he had built the Round House as a shooting-box at Camps Bay; the Government farm at Groote Post was practically another shooting-box, and so for that matter was the Drostdy, which he had built in the north of the district of Tulbagh and called by the family title of Worcester, leaving the fine Drostdy

of Tulbagh to fall into disrepair. His salary was £10,000 a year. On the other hand, if we look at matters through the eyes of the man born and brought up at Badminton, we can well understand that what was then the small Government House in the gardens must have looked to him, as he bluntly said, no larger than a dog-kennel. Nevertheless, economy being a matter of dire necessity, there was little sympathy felt with his building schemes. The old guest-house of Simon van der Stel had been large enough for Governor Tulbagh, the economically-minded said. It had been enlarged and a new staircase built by Sir George Yonge—why should Lord Charles Somerset build a ball-room? Much money was spent by him on Newlands House also, but so badly was the work done that the upper story fell in during the first storm.

Meanwhile the finances of the colony had sunk to a low ebb, and it was necessary to borrow large sums of money from various sources to meet the current expenditure. It is perhaps not surprising that the colonists demanded that, in the place of taxation, there should be retrenchment in the generous salaries drawn by the Governor and other officials, or that the English Government issued orders suspending all further expenditure on public works and all increases of salaries. It was at this time that the exchange value of the rix-dollar, which had been depreciating in value for many years, was fixed at eighteenpence. But, as we have seen, with the retirement of the Governor the complaints were allowed to drop, the required economies being effected during the administration of his successor.

A matter which does not reflect credit on the char-

Colonel
Bird.

acter of Lord Charles Somerset is his unjust treatment of Colonel Christopher Bird, who had filled the post of Colonial Secretary for many years with integrity and ability, and who was dismissed from office on the ground of an artificial agitation raised against his religion—he was a Roman Catholic—but the actual cause was the Governor's resentment of Colonel Bird's friendly and courteous attitude towards Sir Rufane Donkin. It will be remembered that the latter had inaugurated various measures during his acting-administration which were cancelled by Lord Charles Somerset on his return. He bore an intolerant dislike towards Sir Rufane and strongly resented his reversal of the frontier policy, but it is clear that Colonel Bird's attitude towards the Acting-Governor had merely been that due by an official to the head of the Government, and that he was in no way responsible for the change of policy.

Three new magistracies were established during Lord Charles Somerset's term of office—Simonstown in 1814, Beaufort West in 1818, and Worcester in 1819. The first lighthouse on the coast was built at this time and a leper asylum established in the Caledon district. This asylum, called Hemel en Aarde, was under the charge of a Moravian missionary and his wife. The Governor encouraged missionary efforts, and sent the Reverend John Brownlee as a missionary to Gaika's people, besides enlarging the grants made to the Moravians at Genadendal and elsewhere. During his administration the Cape Royal Observatory was established by the Commissioners of the Admiralty, Fearon Fellowes arriving in 1821 as the first Astronomer Royal. The present Observatory buildings were founded in 1825.

On January 21, 1823, a proclamation was issued by order of the British Government, enacting that for the

future the official language of the Cape should be English. Curiously enough, this step was taken upon the advice of a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Reverend G. Thom of Caledon. The Dutch complained, he had said, that the English 'take no pains to teach our children their language, and only the rich of our countrymen have an opportunity of bringing their sons into offices of Government by being able to send them into Cape Town to learn English, and also do not know how to bargain with the English at the markets'.

Following on this proclamation, a number of highly qualified schoolmasters were sent from England, chiefly for the country districts, where, as will be remembered, education had fallen to a pitifully low ebb. One of these pioneers of learning in South Africa, Mr. James Rose-Innes, became the first Superintendent-General of Education.

It will be seen that there are many things for which credit must be given to Lord Charles Somerset. On the other side of the ledger must be placed his arbitrary methods, his extravagance in dealing with public funds, his overbearing and vindictive attitude towards those who crossed his wishes, and other shortcomings into which there is neither space nor necessity to enter here.

His name is popularly associated with the restrictions which led to the movement for the liberty of the press. This movement was headed by Mr. Thomas Pringle, the poet, and Mr. John Fairbairn, joint-editors of the *South African Journal*, but it was inspired in the first instance by Mr. George Greig, editor of a weekly paper called the *Commercial Advertiser*, which, however, was practically written by Pringle and Fairbairn. The publication of these papers had only been permitted by

The
liberty of
the press.

the British Government on the understanding that 'all topics of political or personal controversy' should be excluded.

In May 1824 the *Commercial Advertiser* contained a report of the trial of an ex-convict named Edwards, and the evidence published and the editorial comments thereon were regarded by the Governor as a direct reflection on himself and the Fiscal. The latter official



THOMAS PRINGLE

sent for Mr. Greig, reminded him of the terms on which he held his licence, and demanded to see the proof-sheets of the next number. Indignant at the Fiscal's censorship, Greig placarded Cape Town with handbills referring to the matter, and endeavoured to hinder the police who were instructed to remove them. Upon this he was ordered to leave the colony, his printing

press was sealed up, and the *Commercial Advertiser* came to an end for the time.

Following on this episode, the *South African Journal* produced a brilliant article written by Pringle, dealing with the English settlers and attributing many of the troubles through which they were passing to an arbitrary system of government and the 'vacillating and inefficient system pursued in regard to the Kaffirs'. The Government, having regard to the terms upon which journalism existed in South Africa, sent for the

writer and asked for a pledge that similar comments would not be made in the future. This Mr. Pringle refused to give, and on the following day the Fiscal received a letter signed by Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn stating that they had decided to close the publication of their paper.

It must be remembered that the officials were bound to insist upon the observance of the conditions laid down by the British Government. The real source of trouble was the policy of suppressing all comment on public events—a policy dictated by the desire to avert trouble in a country wherein so many political elements were at work, but which men and women brought up in freedom could not be expected to approve.

An unpleasant interview between the Governor and Mr. Pringle followed, and before long the latter left the Cape and, eventually, South Africa. He has a strong claim on the affections of the country for his verse in which he mirrored as no other writer has done her wide veld, her mountains and streams, and above all the 'pathless depths of the Great Karoo'. Shortly after this episode Lord Charles Somerset himself left the Cape—in 1825—but the struggle for a free press continued for three years longer, and in July 1828 Mr. Fairbairn, who had gone to England for the purpose of pleading his case, secured from the British Government the assurance that henceforth the press in South Africa should be free from the control of the Governor and Council—a great step towards the liberty which is enjoyed to-day.

Major-General Bourke was sworn in as Acting-Governor of the Cape on March 5, 1826, and held office until the arrival of Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole in September 1828. During his short administration several impor-

1827.
Supreme
Court es-
tablished.

tant changes took place. Hitherto, since the British occupation, judges had been appointed by the Governor and could be removed at his pleasure. The Governor himself was the final Court of Appeal and judicial affairs were entirely in his hands. Lord Charles Somerset's high-handed methods had opened the eyes of the British Government to the defects of this system, and in 1827 a charter of justice was sent out, by which a Supreme Court was established, consisting of a Chief Justice and three puisne judges, who were henceforth to be appointed by the Crown. Circuit courts were to be held twice a year in the country districts, and Resident Magistrates and Civil Commissioners were appointed in the place of Landdrosts and Heemraden and an Attorney-General in the place of the Fiscal.

The colony was divided into two Provinces, the Eastern and Western. A Commissioner-General, with special superintendence over the interests of the border, was appointed for the Eastern Province, with headquarters at Uitenhage—Captain Andries Stockenström being the first to fill this post. The Burgher Senate, which occupied itself in municipal affairs, was abolished and its duties and revenues were taken over by the Government. Official salaries were reduced, beginning with that of the Governor, which fell from £10,000 to £7,000 a year. The Government Country House at Newlands was sold, as was the Round House at Camps Bay, and the large estate of Groote Post was divided into seven farms. If the change of Government in England had not prompted Lord Charles Somerset's resignation it is probable that these drastic changes would have effected it very speedily.

'Ordi-
nance
No. 50.'

During General Bourke's administration too the decree known as 'Ordinance No. 50' was promulgated,

by which political equality with the white settlers was bestowed on the Hottentots, Bushmen, and 'all free persons of colour lawfully residing within the colony'. The outline of the Ordinance was drawn up by Andries Stockenstrom, it was drafted by Judge Burton, and passed by the Council on July 17, 1828, and it was inspired by the influence of Dr. Philip of the London Missionary Society, who had succeeded Dr. Vanderkemp as the champion of the Hottentots. He had published a book called 'Researches in South Africa', in which he urged the political claims of his protégés. He was supported by a large and powerful party in England, though others doubted the wisdom of putting into the hands of the 'little brother', unaccustomed to the methods of civilization, power which a grown man does not always use with discretion. Dr. Philip was shortly afterwards sued for libel by an official named William Mackay, Landdrost of Somerset East, whom he had charged in his book with oppressive conduct towards the Hottentots. The libel was proved, and Dr. Philip was fined £200, with costs which amounted to £900.

In September 1828 the new Governor, Sir Lowry Cole, arrived from England. During his term of office the South African College was established—in 1829—St. George's Cathedral was built, and the foundations of St. Andrew's Scotch church laid. A savings bank was opened in Cape Town, a few of the streets were lighted by lamps, and other improvements in the town were made. In the Zwaartlands district the town of Malmesbury was founded and received its name in honour of Lady Frances Cole's father; a village and church were established at Colesberg, and the new road over the Hottentots' Holland Mountains was made and called Sir Lowry's Pass.

1828.
Sir Lowry
Cole.

198 History of South Africa

In 1829 Makoma, the son of Gaika the Kaffir chief, was expelled from the Kat River, in consequence of a raid upon the Tembus in which 3,000 head of cattle were stolen. A Hottentot settlement and mission station were established in the district.

In August 1833 Sir Lowry Cole retired and was succeeded by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who arrived on January 16, 1834, in the ship which brought to the Cape the celebrated astronomer Sir John Herschel.

CHAPTER XIX

1834 to 1846.

SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN was a strong man and a brave soldier, and was fortunate in having for his Chief of Staff Lieutenant-Colonel Smith (afterwards Sir Harry Smith), an officer who had fought by his side in the Peninsular War, where both had won distinction. The new Governor brought with him from England an Order by which a Legislative Council was to be established at the Cape. It was to consist of the Governor as President, five of the highest officials and five representatives of the people, who were to be selected by the Governor. Its function was to be the making of laws.

In 1834 the British Parliament resolved on the abolition of slavery in all its colonies, and Sir Benjamin D'Urban was instructed to set free on the 1st of December all slaves, who were for the first five or six years to be apprenticed to their late masters. Every one is agreed that slavery is a bad thing. Every one, unluckily, did not realize that it was an evil which should have been rectified by degrees, instead of letting loose on the land a flood of people whom circumstances had made unfit to take their part without preparation in the life of a free community. Much vagrancy and distress followed, while many families lost heavily owing to the fact that the compensation voted by the British Parliament to the Cape—a little over £1,200,000—was far below the value of the slaves. Moreover, it was decreed that each claim must be proved in London, where the compensation would be paid, and many people were ruined by accept-

1834.
Sir
Benjamin
D'Urban.

1834.
Emanci-
pation of
the slaves.

ing the unfair terms offered by unscrupulous agents—often only half the value of the claim—in the difficulty produced by this foolish order.

So the 2nd of December 1834 dawned upon a free South Africa, but the consequences of slavery are with her yet. A hundred and twenty years earlier Dominiques de Chavonnes had warned the Council of Policy that slavery in a land was like a malignant sore in the human frame. Had his words been heeded and the land been tilled by free white men we should not be faced to-day with some of the most difficult problems which lie before South Africa.

1834.
The Sixth
Kaffir
War.

The first year of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's administration was further marked by the sixth Kaffir War. It had its origin in fresh thefts of the cattle belonging to the frontier farmers and the necessary measures taken for their recovery and the punishment of the offenders, but the vacillating policy of the British Government was in some degree responsible for the depredations. On the night of the 12th of December 1834 beacon fires sent the news of a native rising from hill to hill, and nine days later twelve thousand Kaffir warriors poured across the border, burning the farms of the English and Dutch settlers and killing every white man who fell into their power. During this outbreak property valued at over £3,000,000 was carried off or destroyed. Ten Englishmen trading in Kaffirland were killed and their property stolen. From the border fugitives fled in wild terror to Grahamstown, Somerset East, or the nearest point of refuge, and an urgent message was sent to Cape Town explaining the peril of the frontier towns and farms.

‘The Kaffir tribes,’ writes Sir Harry Smith, ‘which for many months had been greatly agitated and excited,

at length burst into the Colony in what was for the moment an irresistible rush, carrying with them fire, sword, devastation, and cold-blooded murder, and spoiling the fertile estates and farms like a mountain avalanche.'

At dawn of the scorching New Year's Day of 1835, Colonel Smith set off on his famous ride to Grahams-town, a distance of six hundred miles, and six days later he rode into the panic-stricken town, bringing authority, experience and military skill, and infusing into every one his own indomitable pluck and brave cheeriness. Before many hours had passed the firm hand on the reins was felt. He proclaimed martial law, dismissed the Committee of Safety which had been formed, declared despondency to be a deadly sin, and 'at once showed the alarmed inhabitants that defence should consist in military resources and military vigilance. . . . Men moved like men, and felt that safety consisted in energetic obedience.'

Sir Harry
Smith's
ride to
Grahams-
town.

Fort Willshire, which had been abandoned at the instance of Sir Rufane Donkin, was re-occupied by the 73rd Regiment, the missionaries in Kaffirland rescued, and by the time that the Governor had followed his alert Chief of Staff confidence had been restored and the armed population organized and ready to follow their leader to the death. Boers, English, and Hottentots were alike devoted to the man who had ridden in the teeth of danger to their rescue through a wild land bristling with enemies.

The Governor was at the head of the expedition which pushed its way through Kaffirland and across the Kei River, where he attacked Hintsa, chief of the Galeka clan of the Kosa, who owed his position entirely to the British Government. At the beginning of this war he

had professed himself neutral, but under the cloak of neutrality he was aiding and abetting the Kaffir attacks and sheltering the cattle stolen from the farmers. War was therefore declared on him, and after the destruction of his kraal by the troops under Colonel Smith he came to the British camp and asked for terms of peace. He agreed to restore the cattle stolen from the farmers, to make other reparation and, with his brother Baku and his son Kreli, remained as a hostage. Meanwhile Sir



SIR HARRY SMITH AND HINTSA

Benjamin D'Urban issued a proclamation by which the border of the Cape Colony was extended from the Keiskama River to the east bank of the Kei River, and to this new district he gave the name of the Province of Queen Adelaide and founded as its capital King William's Town.

Death of
Hintsa.

Hintsa came to a bad end. Having promised Colonel Smith that he would accompany the army and help in the recovery of the stolen cattle, he sent word secretly to his people to drive the cattle across the Umtata.

Then he led the troops into thick bush and attempted to escape, but was shot by Mr. George Southey in the act of throwing an assegai at him. His young son Kreli, who succeeded him in the chieftainship, was set free and peace was made with the Galekas—3,000 head of cattle having been taken from them in part payment of those stolen from the farmers.

Colonel Smith remained in command of the new Province of Queen Adelaide, and here he was joined by his beautiful Spanish wife Juana. There is no space to write their story here, but it should be read by every one. He busied himself in civilizing the Kaffirs, forbidding witchcraft, organizing agriculture and commerce, establishing a police drawn from the Kaffirs themselves, bringing the chiefs Macomo and Tyali to swear allegiance, doing his best in his own energetic and decisive manner to establish peace and good government in the new land, upon which some of the Kaffir clans were located as British subjects. From beyond the Kei River Sir Benjamin D'Urban brought eighteen thousand Fingoes and established them on the land between the Keiskama and Fish Rivers, thinking that these people, not being friendly to the Kosa tribe, would act as a buffer between it and the white people.

In this work of reorganization the Governor and his Chief of Staff were convinced that England would approve of the policy of her representative in South Africa, but bitter disappointment was in store for them. Lord Glenelg, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, was influenced by a large party which professed to be actuated by philanthropy but was, in truth, little qualified to pronounce judgement on the motives and actions of men six thousand miles away. This party was represented at the Cape by the Reverend Dr. Philip, and it

The
Glenelg
policy.

held the view that native states should be formed, in which the chiefs should be paramount, under the direction of missionaries, and that no Europeans should be admitted into these states except by permission of the latter. This was in direct variance with the Governor's plan of placing the clans between the Keiskama and the Kei Rivers under British control, though leaving much authority to the chiefs, and here is Colonel Smith's comment on the situation that followed.

Its
results.

'Lord Glenelg, an excellent, worthy and able man, but led by a vile party under the cloak of sanctity and philanthropy, directed the Province of Queen Adelaide to be restored to barbarism, the allegiance the Kaffirs had sworn to be shaken off and the full plenitude of their barbarity re-established. It is grievous to reflect that any well-disposed individual like Lord Glenelg, believing he was doing good, and under the influence and guidance of others, should have blasted the bright prospects of such rapidly progressing civilization.'

1836.
Sir
Benjamin
D'Urban
recalled
and his
policy
reversed.

So the land between the Kei and the Keiskama was given back to the Kaffirs, Sir Benjamin D'Urban was recalled by the British Government, Colonel Smith was removed from the frontier and Captain Andries Stockenstrom appointed in his place with instructions to carry out the Glenelg policy—which meant the reversal of all that had been done by Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Harry Smith. Sir George Napier was sent out as Governor, with similar instructions, but personal acquaintance with the problems which had looked so easy six thousand miles away quickly convinced him that the men who had been dismissed had understood them better than the Minister at home. Speaking before a Parliamentary Committee some years later he said :

'... My own experience and what I saw with my own

eyes have confirmed me that I was wrong and Sir Benjamin D'Urban perfectly right; that, if he meant to keep Kaffirland under British rule, the only way of doing so was by having a line of forts and maintaining troops in them.'

The policy of Lord Glenelg, however, was to restore the power of the Kaffir chiefs and to leave the frontier at their mercy, and widespread dismay followed on the publication of his decree in South Africa. The frontier farmers, English and Dutch alike, felt themselves deserted at a moment when peace and prosperity seemed to be in sight, and Colonel Smith has recorded how the Kaffirs themselves came in hundreds to him, lamenting and praying the English Government not to abandon them. He adds :

'... I will candidly admit, I grieved too, for although at the outset, as I took stock of my enthusiasm, I was often led into a belief that my hopes would prove illusive, the consummation of my most sanguine desires had now been effected. Daily I saw improvement progressing, not only by rapid strides, but on such a broad and firm path as to ensure its permanency and induce the conviction that ten years would have brought the Gospel of Christ and all the blessings of civilization among the thousands of benighted barbarians around me.'

The Glenelg policy was one of the causes which contributed to the northward migration of Dutch farmers in 1836 which is known as the Great Trek. To understand all the motives which prompted it, however, we must take our thoughts back to those early settlers who chafed under restrictions and boundaries and laws, and moved away from civilization into the great unknown land—to Swellendam first, and afterwards to Graaff Reinet and on to the borders of Kaffirland, where they

1836.
The Great
Trek.



THE GREAT TREK

could trek no farther eastward because of the vast hordes of natives who blocked the way. The wander-fever was still in the veins of many of these people in the year of which we write. The call of the wild was in their ears and they turned longing eyes towards the great tracts of empty country in the north. Moreover, they chafed under many things—under the order forbidding the



A BOER CAMP

ownership of slaves, under the inadequate compensation for their slaves given by the British Government, under the lack of protection against the Kaffirs. But beneath all these things lay land-hunger—the desire for the open, unfenced, uncultivated veld, where a man might own the land as far as his eye could carry and each would be a law unto himself. The empty lands to the north were awaiting them.

So the oxen were inspanned, the long tented wagons

were piled high with household goods and food-stuffs, and out into the unknown went men, women, and children—several thousand in all—driving their flocks and cattle before them and moving in a leisurely way from one good pasture to another. Again, if we would understand South Africa and its problems, we must realize the mainspring which moved her people at various points of her history. The ‘back-veld’ Boer of to-day is the lineal and spiritual descendant of those men and women of the Great Trek and of those who came before them. They moved northward in bands, each band having its own leader, and where they went and what they did we shall see later.

The
Treaty
States.

It was during Sir Benjamin D’Urban’s administration that the British Government—acting chiefly on the advice of Dr. Philip—decided to create a chain of native states on the eastern and northern borders of the colony, partly as a barrier between the colony and hostile tribes, and partly in accordance with the desire of the missionaries to see these Treaty States, as they were called, established under their control, so that the natives might retain their independence and at the same time become civilized. It must be remembered that the idea of civilizing the South African native was a new one, and it still remained to be seen what success would follow on the white man’s effort.

The first treaty was made by Sir Benjamin D’Urban with a Griqua chief named Andries Waterboer in 1834. He was the ruler over a people of mixed European and Hottentot race, in the district now known as Griqualand West, to the north of the Orange River. In 1843 another treaty state was established under Adam Kok, another Griqua chief, whose land lay eastward of that of Waterboer and in the southern portion of the

present Orange Free State.¹ Both these states were thinly inhabited by a people of little mental or physical promise, who had no natural protection against the attacks of their neighbours.

To the east of Adam Kok's territory, however, was a beautiful and mountainous country, inhabited by the Basuto tribe under the rule of Moshesh, a chief of a very different type to the Griquas, a born ruler of men and gifted with great natural abilities. His great kraal or seat of government was at Thaba Bosigo, a mountain stronghold. Basutoland was established as a Treaty State in 1843, and in the following year another treaty was concluded with Faku, chief of the Pondos, a numerous tribe who inhabited a district on the east coast to the south of Natal.



MOSHESH

In 1844 Sir George Napier retired from the governorship and was succeeded by Sir Peregrine Maitland, whose administration was marked chiefly by measures for the improvement of the colony, in which he was seconded by two very able men—Mr. Porter, the Attorney-General, and Mr. Montagu, Colonial Secretary. Country roads were made, light-

1844.
Sir
Peregrine
Maitland.

¹ This must not be confused with the present Griqualand East, which was a district called No-Man's-Land, to which the eastern Griquas were removed in 1862 on payment of £4,000 by the Orange Free State.

houses built at Agulhas and Cape Recife, the guano industry at Ichaboe founded, several banks and the Mutual Life Assurance established, and the English Government induced to send out between four and five thousand emigrants of a good artisan type.

1846.
The War
of the
Axe.

In 1846 there was fresh trouble on the frontier. The Glenelg policy, which, as we have seen, had reversed Sir Benjamin D'Urban's policy of a buffer state between the Kaffirs and the frontier farmers, had plunged Kaffirland back into savagery, and the cattle raids were as vigorous as in the old days of Ndhlabi. At last the boldness of the Gaikas under Sandilli (son of Gaika, who had died in 1829) became so great that near the Kat River a band of them fell upon an escort which was taking a Kaffir to Grahamstown to be tried for the theft of an axe. The man had been handcuffed to a Hottentot, whose hands the natives cut off at the wrists to free their comrade. The wretched victim bled to death, and Sir Peregrine Maitland, roused to indignation by the murder and the insult, sent troops to drive the Kaffirs back into their own territory. This, which is called by the natives the War of the Axe, was the seventh Kaffir war.

Seventh
Kaffir
War.

At first disaster fell upon the British troops and they were defeated on the banks of the Keiskama, but with the aid of the burgher forces the Kaffirs were driven across the border. At the head of these burghers was Andries Stockenstrom—convinced by this time of the failure of the Glenelg policy which he had once supported. Finally, Sandilli, the Gaika chief, sent a message to the effect that he was starving and would give himself up if his life were spared, and the war came to an end.

Before its conclusion, however, Sir Peregrine Maitland was recalled, the reason assigned being his advanced age.

Sir Henry Pottinger was sent out in his place, with the appointment of High Commissioner with power to deal with matters beyond the colony's boundaries, in addition to that of Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. This office continued to be held by the Governor of the Cape until the Boer War of 1899-1902. Sir Henry Pottinger was a soldier and a successful diplomatist, and at once took vigorous measures against Sandilli which led to the chief giving himself up.

Sir Henry
Pottinger.

CHAPTER XX

THE STORY OF NATAL

WE must now consider those lands to the north, towards which the Boers of the Great Trek looked with longing eyes.

Early
history of
Natal.

Of these, Natal had long been known to the white man, though no settlement had been made until 1721—only to be abandoned shortly afterwards. Its first entry into recorded history was when Vasco da Gama sighted the bluff at the entrance to the present town of Durban on Christmas Day, 1497, and called the land Terra Natalis. In 1576 the coast was explored by Manuel de Mesquita Perestrello, directed by King Sebastian of Portugal to make a chart of the harbours, and he has left us a description of the country on whose shores he had been wrecked in the *Saint Benedict* in 1554.

In 1685 the *Johanna*, an English ship, was wrecked near Delagoa Bay, and the survivors passed through Natal on their wonderful overland journey to Cape Town. Other English ships called there from time to time, the *Good Hope* being wrecked on the Durban bar in 1685, and in the following year the *Stavenisse*, a Dutch East Indiaman, was wrecked slightly farther to the south. The survivors from both ships made their way to Cape Town a year later, in a boat which they had built, only occupying twelve days on the journey. On their arrival they showed three tons of ivory which they had acquired, and the Governor, Simon van der Stel, speedily dispatched a ship to Port Natal, as the bay was now called, to take possession of the port and

open up a trade in ivory. The bay was purchased from the Amatuli tribe for goods worth about £50, but no settlement was made until 1721. This, as I have said, was soon afterwards given up, and it was not until after the Cape had passed from the Dutch to the English that any further attempt at settlement was made.

Meanwhile stirring events were shaping the future of the land. Early in this book we have seen how the great Bantu race had swept down from the north, driving the Bushmen to the mountains and the Hottentots to the sea-shore. These Bantus or Kaffirs were divided into many tribes and clans, and one of the least of these was the Zulu tribe, living in kraals on the banks of the Umvolosi River, north of the country which to-day is Natal. The Zulus were a fine and handsome folk, but without power or influence, sellers of small wares and vassals to the more powerful Abetetwa tribe. This insignificant people had for its chief Senzagakona, to whom was born—somewhere about 1783—a son who was named Chaka.

Tall, athletic, strong, ambitious, cruel—all these things and many more was Chaka. No one in the tribe could throw an assegai so far as could the chief's son, none was more swift-footed. When little more than a boy he quarrelled with his father and took refuge with the Abetetwa tribe, of which Dingiswayo, lord over the Zulus, was the head, and quickly rose to a high position in the Abetetwa army. On the death of his father Senzagakona the successful young soldier was appointed by Dingiswayo to the Zulu chieftainship, and when Dingiswayo in his turn was gathered to his fathers Chaka was elected over-lord of the Abetetwa in his place.

All the world must have seemed to lie at Chaka's feet

when he looked from the heights of the Drakensberg towards the Indian Ocean and felt himself lord of the wide fields of millet, of the antelopes and quaggas of the veld, of the hordes of warriors who clustered round the beehive huts of the kraals. Great ambitions gripped him, as they had gripped Napoleon and were to grip the Kaiser Wilhelm II after him. All the world should truly be his, he told himself, and to attain his heart's desire nothing should stand in his way.

Does a man never count the cost when he sets out to gain the whole world and loses his soul ?

Rise of
the Zulu
nation.

So Chaka drilled and trained his people, until the little Zulu nation had become one vast and splendid army, stronger than the Abetetwa, armed with short, broad-bladed spears—the stabbing in the place of the throwing assegai—ruled by a stern tyranny. Stern and cruel to his own nature too, Chaka caused all sons born to him to be killed, lest they should one day rise and contest his power. But, even as the old Norse legend tells us how all the trees of the woods were placed under a spell and only the weak mistletoe was forgotten, from which the arrow was made that killed Baldur the Beautiful, so Chaka forgot and spared his brother Dingaan—for a man is not stronger than God.

The great Zulu nation being drilled and trained, Chaka placed himself at the head of his troops and swept over Natal, murdering every man, woman, and child, and burning every village. ‘Kill ! Kill !’ was his war-cry, and before him whole tribes fled in terror, fighting their way through other tribes which barred their flight until all South Africa outside the European border was a scene of battle and slaughter. In 1826 Umsilikasi, usually called by the Sechuana name Moselekatse, Chaka’s chief general, quarrelled with the

Mosele-
katse.

tyrant and fled into the present Transvaal, taking with him a strong body of warriors and bringing the natives into subjection. Passing farther west he occupied the country of the Bechuanas, and everywhere ruin and desolation were left behind him, until he had placed a barrier of desert lands between himself and the vengeance of Chaka, destroying the inhabitants, who gave to the fierce new-comers the name of Matabele. Moselakatse built his military kraals along the Marikwa River, near the western boundary of the Transvaal, and there he established himself as lord of all the neighbouring countries—save only Basutoland, where his attacks upon Thaba Bosigo were repulsed by Moshesh, who sent the defeated Matabele home with provisions and friendly messages and was thenceforth left in peace to develop his state after his more enlightened manner.

The
Matabele.

From various tribes fugitives fled into Kaffirland, where they were allowed to live, but treated as slaves by the Tembu and Kosa and given the name of Fitcani or Wanderers—the people who are known to-day as the Fingoes. All the tribes which remained north of the Tugela submitted to Chaka and were thenceforth called Zulus. When he looked round on his work it must have seemed to him that his desire was accomplished, for there was ruin and desolation wherever his conquering armies had passed and the Zulu nation was supreme over a vast territory.

The
Fingoes.

Of the stories which are told of Chaka's cruelty one-tenth cannot be set down here. A very old Zulu, who lived to see Chaka's people submit to the white man, used to tell of a day when, being a boy running about the fringe of the royal kraal, he saw the king watching the vultures which circled round the hill upon which his victims were executed.

‘My birds are hungry,’ said Chaka; ‘take those men digging in that field and kill them.’

In a moment the order was carried out—for no one resisted Chaka—but—

‘They are still hungry,’ he said, after a time; ‘throw more people to them.’ And again he was obeyed, and yet again.

An Englishman, to whom the Zulu told this story, said—

‘But that was very cruel.’

‘Inkose,’ and the old man drew himself up and raised his hand above his head in the royal salute; ‘he was a KING.’

What was the secret of the power which held a strong and warlike nation in subjection to one man? To all Chaka was as a god—to all but his brothers Dingaan and Umhlangana, who, with an old servant and a small band of conspirators, seized him under the cover of fair words and stabbed him to death in September, 1828.

An evil chief was his brother Dingaan who succeeded him, and his first act was the murder of Umhlangana; but we must leave him for a while and follow the fortunes of the white man in these lands to the north of the Cape Colony.

The
English
in Natal.

In 1823 a company had been formed for the purpose of trading with the Bantus of the south-eastern coast. A small ship called the *Salisbury* was chartered by the merchants who formed the company, and sent on a voyage of exploration under the command of James Saunders King, an ex-naval officer, who had with him his friend and fellow-sailor, Francis George Farewell and James Thomson, a Cape Town merchant. After a stormy and disastrous voyage the ship returned to Table Bay with a report which damped the company’s

ardour. Farewell, however, retained his faith in the enterprise, and with twenty-five others purchased a little trading-sloop called the *Julia*, which set sail in April, 1824, with a small party led by Henry Francis Fynn. Mr. Farewell followed in May in the *Antelope* with the remainder of the party.

When we stand on the Berea to-day we look down on the prosperous town of Durban, on the great steamers which lie at her quays, on comfortable houses set in beautiful gardens. But the eyes of these adventurers of 1824 rested on a wild country, and grouped among the bushes of gardenias and in the shade of the palms were the huts of the fierce Zulu people, who might or might not prove friendly. Some of those who had set their hand to the plough turned back, and in December, 1824, the *Julia* set sail with eleven more ; but the wind and waves of the coast proved an even sterner foe than the Zulus, and she never made port.

A little handful of five Englishmen had stood on the Point and watched their comrades sail away. Then they turned and looked each other in the eyes and knew that their lives—and much more than their lives—depended on their own courage and God's Providence.

A good beginning had been made. The tyrant Chaka, then at the height of his power, had been badly wounded in an attempted assassination, during a visit of the white men to his kraal, and Henry Fynn had treated his wounds with such skill that they healed rapidly. From that moment he looked upon the Englishmen as his friends, and on August 7, 1824, he had granted to 'F. C. Farewell and Company' a large tract of land including the present harbour of Durban. On August 27th the English flag was hoisted, a royal salute was fired, and the land declared a British possession.

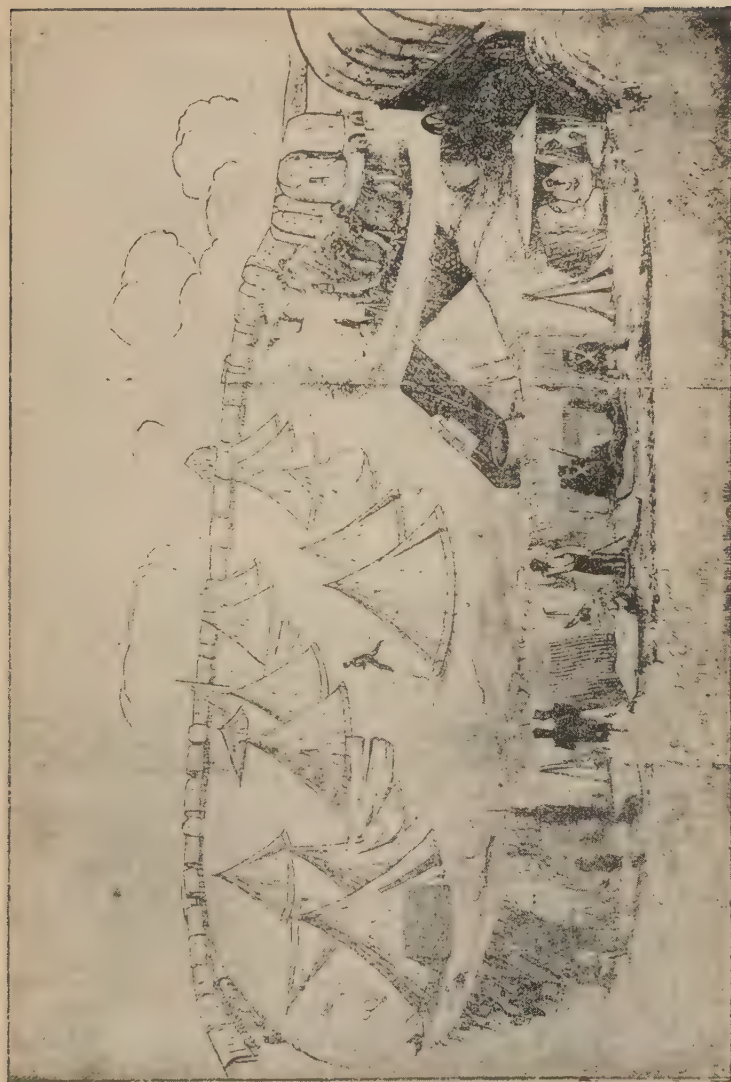
Shortly afterwards the country between this district and the Umzinkulu River was granted to Henry Fynn, and, as many destitute natives, whose tribes had been swallowed up by Chaka, made their way to these territories, the white men soon found themselves in the position of petty chiefs.

Farewell was murdered by the Amakwebi tribe on a return journey overland from Cape Town in 1829, and two of the remaining Englishmen, John Cane and Henry Ogle, divided his land between them and also became chiefs under the Zulu king. Within the next few years various other young Englishmen made their way to Natal as traders or ivory hunters. They all lived by the favour of the Zulu chief, though the tattered flag of England still fluttered above their heads.

In May, 1832, it occurred to England that, somewhere at the ends of the earth, Englishmen were taking possession of territory in her name, and Goderich, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, instructed the Governor of the Cape, Sir Lowry Cole, to send an officer who should take charge of the settlement. The salary offered was, however, so slender—£100 a year—that no one could be found willing to accept the post.

1835.
Durban
founded.

In June, 1835, the town of Durban was founded and received its name from Sir Benjamin D'Urban, though at that time the European population only numbered thirty-five. The pioneers gave the name of Victoria to the district which they occupied, and sent a petition to the English Government that it might be recognized as a British colony. Unfortunately, Lord Glenelg was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the petition fell on deaf ears, he being 'deeply persuaded' of the disadvantage of colonies to the Mother Country. So the British residents of Natal were left to work out



ENGLISH CAMP AT DURBAN

their own salvation and to hold that outpost of the Empire in the teeth of difficulties and discouragement. The solitary recognition granted them by the Mother of Parliaments was the passing of a Bill by which all British subjects south of the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude were liable to arrest and punishment for any offence against the law.

CHAPTER XXI

THE VOORTREKKERS

WE must now follow the fortunes of the Boers of the Great Trek. The first party, consisting of ninety-eight people under Louis Trieckhard and Jan van Rensburg, made their way to the Zoutpansberg, in the north of the present Transvaal, whence a band under van Rensburg went on still farther north and were murdered by Kaffirs. The remainder tried to reach Delagoa Bay, but all except twenty-six died of fever on the journey. The second party of wanderers settled on land between the Vaal and Vet Rivers, where many of them were massacred by the Matabele during the absence of their leader Hendrik Potgieter and eleven men. Potgieter returned in time to save the remainder from death, forming the wagons into a lager behind which a gallant defence was kept up—the women standing below and loading the men's guns. At last the Matabele retired, but drove away all the cattle of these poor people, who must have starved had it not been for the third party of emigrants under Gerrit Maritz, which had encamped at Thabanchu, and, hearing of the terrible misfortune which had overtaken Potgieter's party, sent oxen to bring them into safety.

Shortly afterwards a party of the Boers attacked the kraal of Moselekatse, the Matabele chief, and though he himself was absent at the time there was a large band of warriors at the kraal who fled from the guns of the avengers, leaving four hundred dead and nearly seven thousand head of cattle, with which the

1836.
The wandering
Boers.

Hendrik
Potgieter.

victors returned to Thabanchu. Potgieter's party then laid the foundations of a town on the Vet River and called it Winburg in honour of the victory.

Winburg
founded.

Piet
Retief.

In April, 1837, another party arrived at Thabanchu, under the leadership of Piet Retief. Two months later a general assembly of the Boers was held at Winburg, at which a volksraad and court of justice were elected, with Piet Retief as Commandant-General. It was no easy office, for a violent quarrel had sprung up between Potgieter and Maritz, dividing into two factions a people who, of all folk on God's earth, had most need of union. The party under Maritz decided to secede from those who upheld Potgieter and to settle in what is now Natal, Piet Retief agreeing to throw in his lot with them. During his absence on a journey of inspection the Boers, led by Potgieter and Piet Uys, attacked Moselekatse. The Matabele were defeated with great loss and fled across the Limpopo, after which many farmers trekked across the Vaal and occupied the land which Potgieter now declared forfeit to the Boers. This great tract of country included the present Transvaal, half of the Orange Free State, and a great portion of Bechuanaland, and had been swept bare of its original inhabitants by Moselekatse and his warriors in their flight from Chaka.

Maritz.

Retief's
party in
Natal.

On Piet Retief's arrival in Natal he found about thirty Englishmen resident at what is now Durban, while six mission stations had been established between the Drakensberg and the sea. It is difficult for us to realize what the immense courage must have been of the men who took their lives in their hands and went into the heart of a savage land to carry the knowledge of Christianity to a people who were far more likely to prove hostile than friendly. The names of David Living-

stone, of Robert Moffat and his wife, among the Bechuanas, of Casalis, Coillard, Lindley, and many another will not easily be forgotten.

Dingaan, who had succeeded Chaka as chief of the Zulus, was outwardly friendly to the white man and received Piet Retief with politeness, promised to consider his request for a grant of land south of the Tugela, and entertained his visitors with dances and military exhibitions. Finally, he promised to grant the land on condition that seven hundred head of cattle which had been stolen by the Batlokua tribe were recovered and restored to him by the Boers. Dingaan.

Retief went back to his people, carrying the good news of the chief's friendly reception. The cattle were quickly recovered and a large body of the emigrants returned with him to Natal, settling down on the land promised by Dingaan, while Retief with sixty-five others went on to the king's kraal at Umkungunhlovu to restore the cattle and obtain the formal grant of the land—leaving Maritz in charge of the Boer encampments on the banks of the Blaauwkrantz and Bushman's Rivers.

What followed we know from the pen of an English missionary, Mr. Owen, who, with his wife and a boy named William Wood, occupied a small mission station near the kraal. As they were watching from the hill on which their camp stood, the dancing provided by Dingaan for his guests, a Zulu messenger stole up to their hut. Dingaan murders Retief and his people.

‘The king will kill the white wizards,’ he said, ‘but you are safe.’

Before the horrified people could even protest the boy cried—

‘They are killing them now!’

The little handful of white men and women threw

themselves on the ground and hid their faces while the betrayed Boers were dragged to the hill of execution and killed. When all was over Mr. Owen drew the trembling group around him and read from the ninety-first psalm how

‘He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.

‘I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress: my God, in Him will I trust.’

And so on through the stately words which have brought comfort to many stricken souls, and seldom to any who needed it more than those who stood alive in the midst of horror and death on the outskirts of Dingaan’s kraal.

This evil deed was followed by an attack on the most advanced group of the emigrants who had accompanied Retief across the mountains, ten thousand Zulu warriors falling on the camp and killing over five hundred men, women, and children at the spot which is now called Weenen—the place of weeping. This was on the 17th of February, 1838.

1838.
Weenen.

A young man who succeeded in making his escape rode back in haste to warn the party of Boers in the rear, and they hastily formed their wagons into a lager and prepared to resist the Zulus. When these appeared, which they did soon afterwards in great numbers, they were unable to break through the barrier and retired, leaving many dead lying round the camp.

A few weeks later Potgieter and Uys arrived with reinforcements, having hastened to the relief of Maritz, who had spent the interval in strengthening the Boer lagers in Natal. An arrangement was come to by which it was agreed that the English settlers with their people should attack Dingaan on the east while Potgieter and Uys should attack from the west, Maritz being left to

guard the camp. Uys was killed in a skirmish, and with him his gallant son, a boy of fifteen years of age, who rode back to his father's assistance in the face of overwhelming numbers and died with him. In the roll of South African heroes Dirk Uys is not the least.

Dirk Uys.

The party from the east met Dingaan's warriors on the banks of the Tugela and a fierce battle took place on the 17th of April, 1838, in which thirteen white men and over a thousand of their natives were killed. The victorious Zulus marched on Durban, and the surviving Englishmen, including Mr. Owen and Mr. Lindley, two of the brave missionaries, took refuge in the vessel *Comet*, which was lying in the bay.

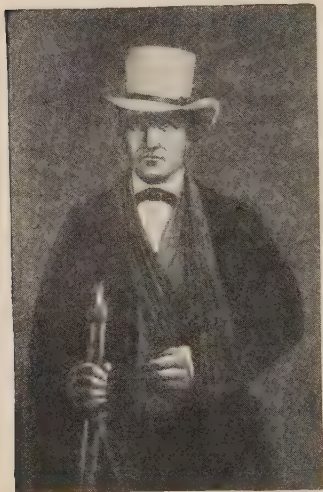
Meanwhile Potgieter and his men had retreated on Maritz's camp, but the two leaders still being unwilling to work together, the former recrossed the Drakenstein and took his people to a spot on the Mooi River, where they founded the town of Potchefstroom. Here an independent government was set up, which claimed jurisdiction over all the present Transvaal and part of the Orange Free State, and dissociated itself from the Boers in Natal.

There, however, the followers of Maritz were strengthened by new arrivals from the Cape Colony, amongst them Andries Pretorius, under whom a force of Boers, English settlers, and the Zulus who had taken refuge with the latter against Dingaan's cruelty, marched towards Umkungunhlovu. The night before they met the tyrant's forces in battle a solemn vow was made—that if God should grant them the victory a day each year should be set apart for thanksgiving and a church should be built as a token of gratitude.

1838.
Battle of
Blood
River.

On the banks of a stream, to which the battle gave the name of the Blood River, the white men and Zulus met

in fierce conflict on Sunday, the 15th of December, 1838. A rushing tide of native warriors swept forward, shouting fierce battle-cries, but for all their overwhelming numbers they were no match for the guns of their opponents. Over three thousand Zulus perished,



PRETORIUS

while only three white men were wounded. The little church of the Voortrekkers was built three months later, in pursuance of the vow made on the eve of the battle, and round it grew the town which to-day bears the name of the two pioneers, Piet Retief and Gerrit Maritz—Pietermaritzburg—where from this time onward the meetings of the Natal Volksraad were held. In further commemoration of the battle of Blood River Dingaan's

Dingaan's
Day.

Day, the 16th of December, is observed throughout South Africa. Amongst the Boers who fought was the young Paul Kruger.

The victors, pushing forward, soon came to Dingaan's kraal, only to find that he had fled, and with solemn prayers they buried the bodies of Retief and his men. A small patrol set out in search of Dingaan, but was cut off and lost eleven men—amongst them Alexander Biggar, one of the English settlers, whose sons had been killed earlier. It is not only on

‘the bones of the English
The English flag is stayed’

in this vast South Africa. Here Englishmen and Boers fell side by side, fighting a common foe, as, please God, they will stand shoulder to shoulder henceforward under the flag which shelters both alike.

While all these things were happening in Natal and north of the Orange and Vaal Rivers the English Government was sorely puzzled as to how to deal with the venturesome folk who had wandered so far afield. No less puzzled was the Governor of the Cape, Sir George Napier. In a proclamation dated November, 1838, he had announced the temporary military occupation of Port Natal and the town of Durban, to prevent the harbour being seized by the emigrant Boers and a republic with an outlet to the sea being proclaimed. He had hoped that Lord Glenelg would confirm his action and constitute Natal a British colony, but just as the Colonial Secretary had repudiated the policy of Sir Benjamin D'Urban on the Kaffir frontier so he reversed that of Sir George Napier in Natal. A reply to the Governor's communication was received, approving of the occupation as a temporary measure, as checking the emigration of Boers from the Cape Colony and the introduction of arms and ammunition by way of Natal, but denouncing 'the impolicy of extending the dominions of the British Crown in South Africa'.

1838.
Sir
George
Napier
proclaims
military
occupa-
tion of
Natal.

Lord
Glenelg
again.

In accordance with his instructions, therefore, the British troops were withdrawn, and the settlers left for a time to their own devices. Dingaan, meanwhile, had rebuilt his Great Kraal, and it was clear that he was only waiting his opportunity to revenge himself on the white men who had defeated him and killed three thousand of his warriors. At this moment, however, a new actor appeared on the scene in the person of his half-

Panda.

brother Panda, who had a large following and was determined to depose Dingaan and rule in his stead. His first step was to cross the Tugela and send messengers to the Boers, asking for their assistance and pledging himself to become their vassal in the event of Dingaan's defeat. In January, 1840, a force under Pretorius marched with him against the Zulu chief. Panda's own troops were commanded by his induna Mongalaza, and fell in with Dingaan's army which was completely routed without the aid of the Boer forces, which were marching in a parallel line, but about fifteen miles from the Zulu impis. Dingaan fled to the northward, and was assassinated a year later. His men submitted to Panda, who became paramount chief of the Zulus, but vassal to the Volksraad.

The Boers
claim
Natal.

On the 14th of February, 1840, Pretorius issued a proclamation in the name of the Volksraad, taking possession of the country from the mountains to the sea, and from St. Lucia Bay to Port St. John's.

England, however, refused to acknowledge the establishment of this vast republic. In the words of Sir George Napier to the Volksraad—'Her Majesty had decided to ask him to inform the emigrant farmers that she could not acknowledge a portion of her own subjects as an independent republic'.

The
Glenelg
policy
reversed.

On June 18, 1840, a dispatch was sent off by Lord John Russell, who had succeeded Lord Glenelg as Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which Sir George Napier was authorized to send troops to re-occupy Durban. For the moment, however, he had no troops to spare from the unsettled frontier, and it was not until the action of the Boers in carrying a punitive expedition into the Kaffir country that active steps were taken. The Boer expedition was considered likely to cause an

increase of trouble on the border and was described by the Governor as 'an unjust and illegal proceeding'.

A detachment of the troops on the frontier was dispatched to Durban under the command of Captain Thomas Smith, arriving on the 4th of May, 1842. The Boers assembled in large forces at Congella near Durban, and Pretorius sent a demand that the British troops should be removed. In reply Smith moved out to disperse the Boer forces, but was driven back by superior numbers to the little fort where he entrenched himself—and here occurs one of the gallant episodes of South African history. Richard King, one of the men who had settled at Durban, volunteered to carry news of the reverse to Grahamstown, a ride of 400 miles through country where a vigilant enemy might lie hidden behind any bush. He accomplished his heroic task, and reinforcements were at once sent by sea, arriving at the moment in which the little garrison was hard-pressed and almost worn out with famine and fatigue. With the arrival of the troops which were commanded by Colonel Josias Cloete all was changed. The Boers retreated, many of them returning hastily to their farms and leaving Pretorius with a small following. Finally, on the urgent representations of Sir George Napier, the Government in England proclaimed Natal a British colony in 1842. In 1845 it was decided that it should be governed by the Governor and Council of the Cape, but should have a separate judiciary and executive.

Dick
King's
ride.

1842.
Natal a
British
Colony.

In an interview between Colonel Cloete and Panda the boundary between Natal and Zululand was fixed along the Buffalo and Tugela Rivers, and at the same time the bay of St. Lucia and the mouth of the Umvolosi River were ceded by Panda to England.

CHAPTER XXII

THE FOUNDING OF THE BOER REPUBLICS

IT will be remembered that the emigrant Boers who did not follow Piet Retief into Natal were under the leadership of Hendrik Potgieter, and had established a republic of their own. It included two districts, one to the north of the Vaal River, with Potchefstroom as head-quarters, the other south of the Vaal with Winburg as head-quarters, each having its own Volksraad, while the chief Volksraad was at Pietermaritzburg. There were also little independent groups of Boers scattered about between the Vet River and the Orange. None of them knew very much about the art of government and a law that was made one day was frequently unmade the next.

1843.
The
British
flag at
Pieter-
maritz-
burg.

In 1843 Colonel Cloete, the British Government's Commissioner for Natal, visited the head-quarters at Pietermaritzburg of those Boers who had settled in that district and set up the republic which England had refused to acknowledge. He found the Volksraad in a state of utter confusion and bankruptcy, and the majority of the officials and people eager to accept the British flag, as a relief from threatened anarchy. A large number of the country Boers, however, refused to accept the decision of their officials, and moved back across the Drakensberg mountains into the land over which, as we have seen, Potgieter had proclaimed a republic.

It will be remembered that the British Government had formed several Treaty States, in which the sovereignty of the native chiefs was recognized, notably

Founding of the Boer Republics 231

that with Moshesh in regard to Basutoland and with Waterboer and Adam Kok in regard to Griqualand. Now the treaties dealt with some of the land on which the Boers had established themselves, and before long trouble arose between the natives and the Boers, who refused to acknowledge the rights of the native chiefs. There was fighting between the Griquas and Boers at a place called Zwaartkopjes in 1845, and in the following year the Governor of the Cape, Sir Peregrine Maitland, was instructed to place the administration of the territory across the Orange River in the hands of a Resident. Major Warden was appointed to this office, and the town of Bloemfontein founded as his residency.

This proclamation was followed by friction between the Boers and the British, and in 1848 Sir Harry Smith, now Governor of the Cape, recognizing that it was impossible to maintain the Treaty States, declared British sovereignty over all the country between the Orange and Vaal Rivers.

1848.
British
sovereign-
ty pro-
claimed
over the
land be-
tween the
Orange
and Vaal
Rivers.

A number of the Boers welcomed British rule, as standing for protection against the natives, but others, led by Andries Pretorius, clung to their republican ideals and refused to accept the new order of things. At the battle of Boomplaats, near Smithfield, Sir Harry Smith met and defeated these men, who fled across the Vaal River to the north and founded the South African Republic, now the Transvaal. An agreement called the Zand River Convention was made with these Boers in 1852, by which the British Government—the Whig administration under Russell, which was opposed to any expansion of the Empire, as entailing fresh responsibilities on the Mother Country—agreed not to interfere with the new republic. The Transvaal Boers, for their part, bound themselves not to practise slavery,

Battle of
Boom-
plaats.

1852,
The Zand
River Con-
vention.

and agreed that all criminals who fled across the Vaal River should be given up to justice.

These emigrants found themselves in a fine country, with a high plateau on which the air was always healthy, with rich grass for their flocks, and the lower-lying bushveld where tropical fruits would grow freely. Beneath their feet were the gold and coal which were to be the wealth of the country in later years, but of this they knew and heeded nothing as they spread themselves over the sparsely-peopled land, indifferent to modern progress and the world outside their boundaries. Pretorius was their first President—and there we must leave them for a time while we follow the fortunes of those Boers who had accepted British Sovereignty over the territory south of the Vaal River, which is now the Orange Free State. A nominated Legislative Council had been formed at Bloemfontein and a High Court established, but before long the Whig Ministry, which had consented with reluctance to Sir Harry Smith's proclamation of Sovereignty, decided to hand the country back to the Boers. A meeting of the European inhabitants was held at Bloemfontein in June, 1852, where a resolution in favour of the retention of British rule was carried. The British Government however, moved, as they explained, by the inconvenience of sending troops to defend possessions over-seas which were constantly expanding, 'especially as Cape Town and the port of Table Bay were all that England really required in South Africa,' adhered to their decision to abandon the country.

In 1853 Sir George Clerk was sent out as Special Commissioner, with authority to make the necessary arrangements for giving up the land, and on his arrival he called a meeting of delegates to confer with him and

Founding of the Boer Republics 233

decide upon a form of self-government. The majority of the inhabitants, amongst whom were now many English people from the Cape Colony, instructed their delegates to represent to the Commissioner that the greater proportion of the white inhabitants of the country, now about 16,000 in number, wished to remain under British rule. The delegates drew up a proposed constitution, providing for the continuance of British control, but Sir George Clerk's orders were peremptory, and he found himself in the extraordinary position of being forced to turn to those of the Boers who were opposed to British rule and wished for a republic to assist him in handing back the country to them, against the wishes of the greater part of the inhabitants.

The representatives of the majority, who were strongly opposed to the proposed course of action, sent two delegates to England to plead that she would retain the land on which she had set the seal of Sovereignty and over which she had hoisted the flag which was to them a guerdon of safety and protection. Their journey was in vain, for even before they sailed a royal proclamation had been signed on January 18, 1854, abandoning all claim to the Orange River Sovereignty.

The independence of the country was formally recognized by a convention signed at Bloemfontein on the 23rd of February, 1854, by Sir George Clerk and the Republican Committee, presided over by Mr. J. H. Hoffman, and on the 11th of March the republican flag was hoisted, the land receiving the name of the Orange Free State.

The first President was Mr. Hoffman, and the legislative authority was vested in an elected body called the Volksraad. The President, who was assisted by an Executive Council, was to hold office for five years, and

1854.
Great Britain
abandons
the
Orange
River So-
vereignty.

President
Hoffman.

was elected by the burghers from nominations sent in by the Volksraad. A five-years' residence qualification was necessary before naturalization. It was no easy task that lay before the new rulers, for the country was divided against itself and constantly threatened by the powerful Basuto chief Moshesh on its eastern and southern borders.

Looking back on events from the standpoint of the twentieth century, it is at first sight difficult to understand why England, having hoisted her flag over the land to the north of the Orange River, should have proceeded to haul it down six years later. It is true that many of the Boers were at heart still republicans, and that Major Warden had received little or no support from this section in his efforts to preserve peace and order. But the majority of the white people were not only content to live under British rule, but looked to it for protection, and to them the retrocession of the country was a bitter blow.

The explanation lies in the fact that those were days in which the dream of a great Empire which should be a 'free union of sister states', as Lord Milner was to describe it many years later, found place only in the hearts of a few men—chiefly amongst those who served England in the ends of the earth. These 'dreamers devout' had no influence with the Whig Government which considered that 'Cape Town and the port of Table Bay' were all that England needed of South Africa, precisely as the officials of the Dutch East India Company had written to van Riebeeck that the Cape was only to be retained until there was no further need of it. It must be remembered that the school of political thinkers which was dominant in England at the time that the Orange River Sovereignty was abandoned was

honestly convinced that colonies were inconvenient and useless possessions, to be given self-government at the first opportunity as a preliminary to complete separation. This theory, the direct opposite of the dream of sister states held together by common aims and common loyalty, was firmly held by the majority of British politicians until Lord Beaconsfield opened men's eyes to greater ideals. Speaking in 1872 he referred to the grant of self-government to the colonies as 'part of a great policy of imperial consolidation', and from that moment the splendid dream which was to become solid fact in the crucible of the Empire took hold of the minds of thinking men.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF SIR HARRY SMITH AND SIR GEORGE GREY. 1847-1861.

WHILE these events were shaping the future of South Africa in the north, the progress of the Cape Colony was being hampered by experiments on the part of



SIR HARRY SMITH

the British Government and by renewed trouble on the frontier.

1847. In December, 1847, Sir Harry Smith had arrived as Governor, being received by the people of the Cape as a valiant soldier, a wise administrator, and an old

and valued friend. At the banquet given in honour of his arrival in Cape Town the toast was not 'Their Excellencies the Governor and Lady Smith', but 'Harry Smith and his wife'.

Eleven days later he left for the frontier, and on December 17 issued a proclamation by which the land between the Kei and the Keiskama Rivers was once more placed under British rule, under the name of Kaffraria, and a Chief Commissioner was appointed to control it as a native reserve ground and a dependency of the Crown. All was as it had been before the Glenelg policy had made itself felt—save for the loss of life, property and credit which had followed in its wake.

Province
of British
Kaffraria.

It was at this moment that the rebellion under Pretorius broke out north of the Orange River, and Sir Harry Smith, hurrying to the scene of action with a small military force, defeated the Boers at Boomplaats in July, 1848. As we have seen, Pretorius and the more intransigent of the Boers crossed the Vaal River after the battle and founded the Transvaal Republic.

On Sir Harry Smith's return to Cape Town he found himself the victim of another experiment on the part of another Secretary of State for the Colonies. Early in 1848 Lord Grey proposed that the Cape should be made a penal settlement, and wrote to the Governor stating that some Irish convicts from Bermuda would shortly arrive in H. M. S. *Neptune*. The Cape has seldom been roused to such a pitch of excitement. All classes and races combined in forming an Anti-convict League; petitions poured in from every part of the country; government offices were boycotted, and even the popular Governor came in for the storm of indignation.

1848.
The anti-
convict
agitation.

In justice to Sir Harry it must be noted that he had appealed against the decision of the English Government, and he took upon himself the responsibility of not permitting the convicts to be landed from the *Neptune* on her arrival in Simon's Bay until an answer to his dispatch could be received—though in the interval he stoutly maintained the authority of the Crown. It was not until five months after the arrival of the ship that, in February, 1850, a dispatch was received from Lord Grey authorizing him to send the convicts on to Van Diemen's Land, and the Cape was freed from the nightmare which had oppressed it and from the dreaded stigma of convict blood.

When Sir Harry Smith looked round him in that year it must have seemed to him that his work had prospered. There was peace in the Cape Colony, peace beyond the Orange River, and apparent peace in Kaffraria—he had therefore felt justified in sending home some of the troops in response to the British Government's demand for economy.

1850.
Beginning
of the
eighth
Kaffir
War.

Suddenly, out of this blue sky, a thunderbolt fell.

Under British rule the Kaffirs had been making progress towards civilization, feeling that there was a power even greater than that of their chiefs to which they might look for security. This, however, was not pleasing to Sandilli and his half-brother Makoma, for progress on the part of their people meant consequent loss of power to the chiefs. The feudal system of ages was threatened by the flag of England—the symbol of an authority to which the humblest Kaffir might appeal against the despotism of the sons of Gaika.

So Sandilli and his brother chiefs took counsel together and evolved a plan. Makana should come to life again, that mystic prophet-warrior who had given himself up

for the sake of his people and to whose second coming they looked forward with ardent and child-like faith. Brave Makana had been sleeping for thirty years beneath the blue waters of Table Bay—but that was no obstacle to the clever brain of Sandilli. A witch-doctor named Umlangeni was found willing to act as the chiefs' tool and the people's dupe, and soon through all Kaffraria rang the joyous news that Makana had indeed risen from the past and had come to lead his people to victory. In the dense forests of the mountains thousands flocked to hear Umlangeni—the false Makana—and bowed themselves at his feet as he promised them charms which should call back the cattle that the white man had taken, and immunity from his bullets.

A terrible drought and the distress which had followed made the people easy victims to the designing men who played on their emotions as a violinist plays on a violin, until they were roused to fierce enthusiasm for war and for the riches which would be theirs, said the false Makana.

So, when all was prepared, Sandilli threw down the gage of defiance by refusing to meet the Governor at King William's Town, Sir Harry having hurried to the scene of trouble and convened a meeting of the chiefs on news of Umlangeni's crusade reaching Cape Town from the British Commissioner, Colonel Mackinnon. Sandilli was therefore declared deposed from his position as chief of the Gaikas, and Mr. Brownlee, the Civil Commissioner, appointed to administer affairs in his place. At the moment, the other chiefs present gave their consent to this arrangement—but it proved eventually to be the seed of further trouble. The troops which were sent to search for Sandilli were caught by his Kaffirs in the Boomah Pass on Christmas Eve and

suffered heavily. On Christmas Day vast hordes of natives swept again over the province, burning villages and murdering between forty and fifty of the farmers. Sir Harry Smith himself was besieged by thousands of Kaffirs at Fort Cox, not far from Alice. Colonel Somerset, who went to his rescue, was driven back with heavy loss, but the Governor, wearing the uniform of a Cape Rifleman, in order to avoid recognition, dashed with his escort of Hottentot Rifles through the Kaffirs and escaped to King William's Town.

It is a well-worn saying that misfortunes never come singly. At this moment the Hottentots of the Kat River settlement rebelled and joined the Kaffirs in an attack on Fort Beaufort. They were defeated, but shortly afterwards 335 Hottentots of the Cape Rifles joined in the rebellion, among them—to the Governor's grief—the men who had been his escort in his escape from Fort Cox. The frontier farmers, discouraged perhaps by the ill-success which had attended their previous efforts, gave little assistance, and the military forces were insufficient to cope with the overwhelming numbers of Kaffirs. In May reinforcements arrived from England, but the fire of rebellion had run through the country. Across the Orange River Moshesh, the Basuto chief, chose this moment for stirring up trouble, with the sympathy of those Boers who wished to see the British Sovereignty come to an end. Major Warden, the British Resident, marched with the troops at his command against Molitsane, one of the petty chiefs under Moshesh, but was entrapped at Viervoet and defeated by the Basutos. At the same time the Hottentots of Theopolis, a mission station about twenty-five miles from Grahamstown, broke out in open revolt.

1851.
The first
Basuto
War.

Administration of Sir Harry Smith 241

Sir Harry Smith was attacked in the House of Commons, charged with burdening England with new territory and with high-handed methods of government, and in 1852 he was recalled—though by the time his successor, Sir George Cathcart, arrived, the Kaffir War was well in hand, thanks to the fine military qualities of the Governor and the gallantry of the troops under his command. His recall, the work of Lord Grey, was strongly condemned by the Duke of Wellington, who spoke earnestly against it in the House of Lords; and Sir George Napier, who knew the conditions on the frontier, has left on record his conviction that ‘the greatest mistake Smith ever made was in giving in to Lord Grey’s folly of withdrawing a single soldier. . . . I still hope’, he wrote, ‘that he may be able to finish the war before his successor arrives, for till lately he had not force to do more than he did.’

So Harry Smith went his way, and Cape Town sped him with cheers and tears and farewell addresses, in which, under the gilt and illumination of the stilted phrases, sounded a deep note of regret and affection. All the honour at her command the Mother City of South Africa heaped upon the veteran soldier who had deserved more of his country than humiliation, and whose last words were generous counsel to the people to aid Sir George Cathcart ‘heart and hand in his arduous undertaking’. He set sail on April 17, 1852.

Seven weeks before his departure the troopship *Birkenhead*, conveying the 73rd Highlanders and drafts for various regiments under the command of Colonel Seton, sailed out of Table Bay, eastward bound, on a fair summer morning. Before dawn on the following day she struck a hidden rock off Danger Point, two miles from the shore, and in a moment the deck was

1852.
Sir Harry
Smith re-
called.

1852.
Wreck of
the *Bir-*
kenhead.

thronged with men, women and children, who had been awakened by the shock. Out of the chaos and terror came calmness and order, as the roll of the drum and the sound of the bugle called every soldier to his post. In their ranks, on the deck of the quivering ship, they stood silent while the boats were lowered, and the women and children packed into them and rowed towards the shore. Long before the rescuers could return and bear the gallant men into safety the *Birkenhead* had broken up beneath their feet, and only some wreckage and the flying sea-gulls marked their grave.

Well may we thank God for the spirit which has made the British soldier what he is, from the men who fought at Hastings to the newest recruit who whistled through the streets of Neuve Chapelle. And bravest among the brave are the four hundred and thirty-eight men who went down in the *Birkenhead* to save the weak and helpless, for the honour of manhood and the Motherland.

‘Who dies if England live?’

1852. Sir Harry Smith having sailed sadly away, Sir George Cathcart, himself a gallant soldier, with large forces now at his command, soon finished the work which had been begun by his predecessor. The Kaffirs were speedily driven from veld and mountain into their own country, and in 1853 the chief Sandilli again gave himself up to the Government. Sir Harry had not been permitted to reap the reward of his military tactics, but on his arrival in England he found that a strong revulsion in his favour had set in. Lord John Russell's Government had fallen, and with it Lord Grey, whose colonial policy came in for much adverse criticism. The Duke of Wellington was a stout supporter of the re-

called Governor, and the odd result of all these events was that Sir Harry, recalled in disgrace, found an enthusiastic public demonstration awaiting him in England. In reply to numerous addresses he showed great chivalry towards the fallen Government, and in particular to Lord Grey.

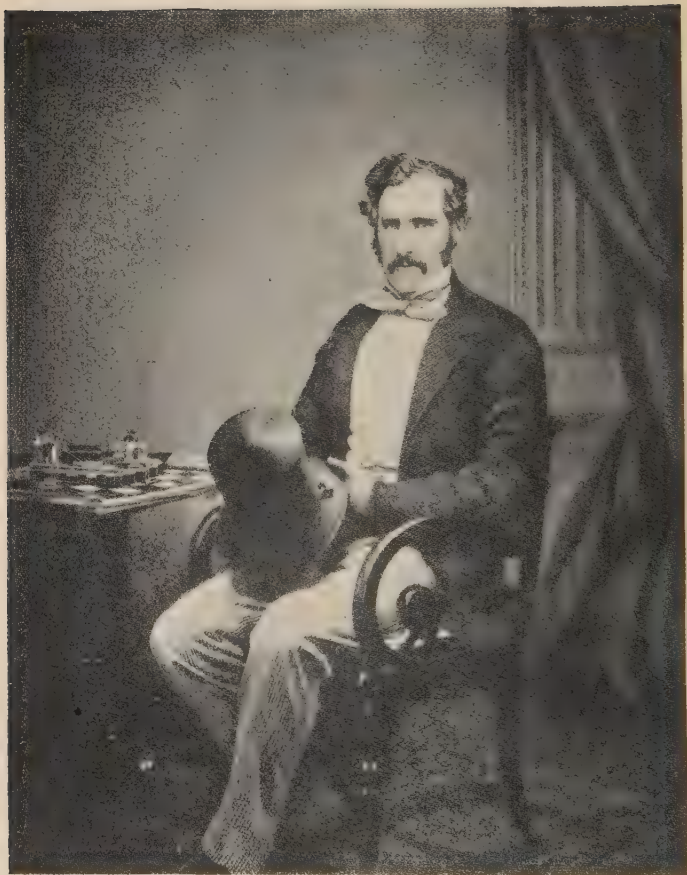
Shortly after Sir George Cathcart's arrival he had brought the Kaffir War to an end and gone on to the Orange River Sovereignty, where he met Moshesh and his Basutos in an encounter in which both sides claimed the victory. It was after this that the Russell Government, alarmed at the cost of holding this far-off colony, had determined to give it up, and, as we have seen, the flag of England was hauled down across the Orange River in 1854.

In 1854 Sir George Grey succeeded General Cathcart as Governor. He was a great man—one of the greatest of those who have carried the good name of England into the ends of the earth and laid deep and strong the foundations of the British Empire. The Government which had followed that administration which set Sir Harry Smith to the task of making bricks without straw supplied him with funds for his educational and missionary enterprises amongst the Kaffirs. He built a hospital for them at King William's Town, made new roads and encouraged industries, as Sir Harry had done, until the Kaffirs learned to look upon him as a friend, and the power of their chiefs, bolstered up by witchcraft, began to wane.

1854.
Sir George
Grey.

Then, as Sandilli had done before him, Kreli the son of Hintsä, chief of the Galeka branch of the Kaffirs beyond the Kei River, made a plan to bring the white man to confusion and reduce the people once more to subjection. This was in 1857. His councillor Umhlakaza

1857.
Nong-
kause, the
false pro-
phetess.



SIR GEORGE GREY

Administration of Sir George Grey 245

had a daughter named Nongkause, who was believed to have the gift of prophecy and of communion with the spirits of the dead. She had spoken with the spirits of all the great chiefs of the past, said Umhlakaza, and they had foretold that on a certain day the warriors of old should come to the aid of the Kaffir people and sweep the white man into the sea. But the miracle would not be wrought unless faith were in the hearts of all—and that faith the people must show by killing every ox and destroying every vestige of the crops.

In vain Sir George Grey and his officers tried to stem the tide of superstition. Kreli, and with him Sandilli, Makomo and other chiefs, sent out word that the prophetess must be obeyed, and through the length and breadth of the land went desolation and ruin. Not a blade of corn in the fields, not an ox lowing in the kraals was left—nothing but famine and emptiness and faith built on sand.

Of the deep tragedy that fell on the deluded people when they knew themselves ruined and betrayed no words can tell. For a whole day they had sat watching the sky from which the great warriors and vast hordes were to appear, and when evening fell they crept to their desolate huts or laid themselves on the parched veld to die. Thirty thousand Kaffirs perished in the destitution that followed, and from that day was broken the great nation which the might of the white man had failed to subdue—broken on the rock of superstition.

The Kaffir
tragedy.

The Governor had caused reserve granaries to be built to meet the terrible emergency which he foresaw, and these were now opened and food sent through the country, but only a proportion of the people could be saved from starvation. For twenty years after this there was peace between the white man and the Kaffir.

Sir George Grey subsequently brought out a number of settlers, some of them men of the German Legion which had been raised by England during the Crimean War and were now disbanded, others who were agricultural labourers brought direct from northern Germany. Farms in British Kaffraria were also given to Cape colonists, and were to be held on a tenure of military service and the payment of a small sum in quit-rent.

The Governor was trusted by all sections of the people of South Africa, British, Boer, and native, and in 1858 the people of the Orange Free State and the Basutos under Moshesh appealed to him to judge between them regarding the boundary which separated their states. During the same year was sown the seed of that movement towards federation which has since come to fruition in the Union of South Africa.

The South
African
Republic.

To understand how this came about we must go back a couple of years—to December, 1855, when Marthinus Pretorius, who had succeeded his father as President of the Republic north of the Vaal, summoned his Boers to a conference at Potchefstroom, where a new Constitution was drafted. This provided that the Volksraad should be elected by the people for a period of two years, the members to be of European blood and adherents of the Dutch Reformed Church. The President was to be aided in his administration by an Executive Council, and the country was henceforth to be known as the South African Republic.

In order further to strengthen the position of the Boers Pretorius wished to bring about federation between his people and the Boers of the Orange Free State, of which Jacobus Nicolaas Boshof was now President. His wish was shared by certain burghers of the Free State, but the majority were opposed to the

Administration of Sir George Grey 247

suggestion. Overtures having been declined by Boshof, and the burghers who desired federation having been accused by him of treason, an armed force under Pretorius and Paul Kruger made a raid into the Orange Free State in February, 1857. Martial law was proclaimed by President Boshof, and the two forces met on the banks of the Rhinoster River. The South African Republic, however, was not unanimous in wishing to force federation on the sister state, and Boshof received offers of help from Commandant Schoeman of Zoutpansberg and Commandant Joubert of Leydenburg, besides the support of the majority of the burghers of the Free State. Realizing the failure of the northern Republic's ambitions Paul Kruger came to Boshof's camp with a flag of truce, the invaders were allowed to withdraw, and a treaty of peace was signed.

Peace, however, was not to be bought so easily. It will be remembered that the Boers of the republics were descended from the Voortrekkers of earlier years, who had gone out into the wilderness, and in their blood still ran impatience of law and restraint. The South African Republic was disunited, one source of disunion being the establishment of the Separatist or Doppe Church by a missionary named Postma, who was sent out from Holland. Paul Kruger became one of his first disciples. Party strife set in in the Orange Free State too, and so great were the difficulties of the Volksraad's position that in December, 1858, it passed a resolution recommending federation—but with the Cape Colony.

Sir George Grey, ardently sympathizing with the federation movement, recommended it to the British Government, but the suggestion was met with disfavour by the then Colonial Secretary, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, and the Governor was recalled. On his arrival

1857.
A raid on
the
Orange
Free
State.

Sir George
Grey and
federation.

Recall of
Sir George
Grey.

Rein-
stated.

in England he found, as Sir Harry Smith had done, that a change of ministry had occurred, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton having been replaced by the Duke of Newcastle. The new minister reinstated Sir George Grey as Governor, but advised him not to pursue further what seemed to him the will-o'-the-wisp of federation. During Sir George's absence the situation had been further complicated by the influence of the partisans of Pretorius in the Orange Free State. Though still President of the South African Republic he was elected President of the Free State, and held the office for a stormy six months.

1861.
Departure
of Sir
George
Grey.

In 1861 Sir George Grey went as Governor to New Zealand, leaving to the Cape his treasures of books and old missals which now form part of the valuable Public Library of which Nicolaas van Dessen's bequest was the foundation. Amongst the MSS. left by Sir George Grey is a Latin copy of the Gospels of the ninth or tenth century, written in a beautiful hand, and other literary treasures which make the South African Public Library the first in importance in the British dominions beyond the seas.

To Sir George Grey's credit lies the timely assistance rendered to the Empire during the Indian Mutiny. He took upon himself the grave responsibility—in days when no cable could bring advice or assent from Downing Street—of diverting reinforcements intended for China and sending them to Calcutta, while men, horses, and £60,000 in specie were dispatched to Bombay. It was a courageous step and justified by the opportune help taken to India in sore straits.

CHAPTER XXIV

FROM 1865 TO THE RETROCESSION OF THE TRANSVAAL

SIR GEORGE GREY was followed by Sir Philip Wodehouse, and shortly after the arrival of the latter, in 1865, the troubles between the Boers of the Orange Free State and the Basuto chief Moshesh broke out afresh. The President of the Orange Free State who had succeeded Pretorius, Jan Hendrik Brand, appealed to the Governor of the Cape to arbitrate and mark off the boundary between the Free State and Basutoland. Sir Philip Wodehouse inspected the border, confirming Sir Harry Smith's boundary, and the difficulties were eventually adjusted, though not until after severe fighting in which both Boers and Basutos lost heavily. In 1868, at the request of Moshesh, Basutoland was taken over by the British, and in 1871, after the death of Moshesh, the country was annexed to the Cape Colony. Under the guidance of President—afterwards Sir John ~~Brand~~—the Orange Free State became more settled than at any previous time in its history after the Basuto danger was removed.

The third
Basuto
War.

Basuto-
land
annexed.

Meanwhile, however, the whole country had been visited by a terrible drought. From 1867 to 1870 there was great depression, for the wealth of South Africa lay in its cornlands and vineyards, its flocks and herds, and in the scarcity of water all these suffered severely.

Then, when depression was at its worst, came a ray of light. In 1867 a little child, playing on the banks of the Orange River, in the Hope Town district, picked

1867.
The first
diamond.

1869.
The 'Star
of South
Africa'.

up a glittering stone. It was given by the child's mother to a trader named Niekerk, and after being carelessly passed from hand to hand the stone was finally sent for examination to Dr. Atherstone of Grahamstown, who pronounced it to be a diamond worth £500. While the country was thrilling with the news a man bought from a Griqua the famous 'Star of South Africa', a magnificent diamond of eighty-three carats weight, which was sold for £11,000.

It marked the passing of the old order of things in South Africa. No longer was the 'up-country' to be left sparsely inhabited, tenanted only by natives or by the Dutch farmers whose progress we have marked, from the day on which their ancestors moved away from the neighbourhood of Cape Town to the more remote country districts of Swellendam and Graaff Reinet up to the Great Trek and the founding of the northern republics. Now, into the north of the Cape Colony, and along the banks of the Vaal River, came a rush of diggers of all nations, and where the town of Kimberley now stands claims were pegged out and work began with feverish activity. By the end of 1871 the great mines of Du Toit's Pan, Bultfontein, Kimberley, and De Beers were yielding a rich return.

Meanwhile the question of the ownership of these Diamond Fields had occupied public attention. The new El Dorado was in the territory of Waterboer, the Griqua chief. The Orange Free State also claimed the district, on the ground that the land had never been occupied by Waterboer, but the matter was finally settled and the claim of the Orange Free State withdrawn on payment to them by the British Government of £90,000.

The Keate
award.

The Boers of the Transvaal had likewise put in

1865 to Retrocession of Transvaal 251

a claim to a portion of the Griqua territory, but the matter being referred by the two claimants to Mr. Keate, Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, he had given his award in favour of the Griqua chief. This award caused such dissatisfaction in the Transvaal that it brought about the downfall of President Pretorius:

Griqualand West, as the district was called, was taken over by Great Britain as a Crown Colony in 1871, on the petition of Waterboer, and eventually became incorporated in the Cape Colony in 1880.

1871.
The province of
Griqualand West.

It was, as we have seen, during the administration of Sir Philip Wodehouse, in 1871, that Basutoland was attached to the Cape Colony, with a view to eventual inclusion, but in the prosperity which followed on this step fresh disturbances arose. Severe fighting followed, in which the chief Moirosi was killed. An order for general disarmament was met by rebellion, and in the end Basutoland was again taken over by the Imperial authorities and a form of self-government was established. How this fared we shall see later on.

In 1872 responsible government, in the place of representative government, was granted to the Cape Colony, though there were some thinking men who doubted whether the country was ripe for such an important step, and whether it could provide sufficient men of education and leisure to administer affairs in a just and tolerant spirit, having regard to the interests of the land itself and of its position as an integral portion of the British Empire. For a new factor, the spirit of imperial unity by which all portions of the Empire should be drawn together into one free union of sister states, was beginning to make its presence felt. Canada was at that moment receiving the grant of self-government, and Lord Beaconsfield was opening the

1872.
Responsible government.

252 History of South Africa

eyes of the Mother Country to the strength of her children over-seas.

Lord Carnarvon and federation.

Lord Carnarvon, who, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, had put Canadian federation through the British Parliament, now turned his thoughts to the federation of South Africa. It will be remembered that Sir George Grey's scheme of South African federation had been rejected by the British Government in 1858, but where he had failed Lord Carnarvon hoped to succeed, and the grant of responsible or self-government to the Cape was intended to be the preliminary step to federation.

The land, however, was not ready for union. In the Transvaal disunion had been followed by anarchy and native wars, in which the Boers had been defeated. There was general bankruptcy, with one section of the people looking to England for assistance, but with the other section hostile to her and inclined to seek the help of Germany and Portugal. Lord Carnarvon's scheme of federation received a further check when the newly-elected Parliament of the Cape passed a resolution affirming that the movement for federation should begin in South Africa and not in England.

In October, 1876, Sir Bartle Frere was offered the post of Governor and High Commissioner of the Cape, Lord Carnarvon looking to him to further the scheme of federation, but he did not take office until the following year, succeeding Sir Henry Barkly.

The Zulu danger.

Meanwhile the difficulties of the position in the Transvaal were increasing, a fresh danger coming from the Zulu border, where Cetewayo the Zulu king, seeing the weakness of the Boers, had collected 40,000 warriors and threatened to raid the South African Republic and Natal. A conference on South African affairs met in

London, the Orange Free State being represented by President Brand, but the Transvaal being unrepresented. No conclusion was arrived at, but soon afterwards Sir Theophilus Shepstone was given a dormant commission by the British Government authorizing him to annex the Transvaal 'if it was desired by the inhabitants and in his judgement necessary'. Acting on these instructions in April, 1877, he annexed the Republic, which was not only threatened but bankrupt, its one-pound notes being only worth one shilling. The public debt was £215,000.

Sir Theophilus had, in the first instance, hoped that the Volksraad would agree to federation and thus avert the necessity for annexation, but he had not realized the full extent of the anarchy that prevailed in the Transvaal. President Burgers, addressing the Volksraad in March, 1877, had said :



CETEWAYO

'I would rather be a policeman under a strong government than the President of such a State. It is you—you members of the Raad and the Boers—who have lost the country, who have sold your independence for a drink. You have ill-treated the natives, you have shot them down, you have sold them into slavery, and

now you have to pay the penalty. . . . Do you know what recently happened in Turkey? Because no civilized government was carried on there the Great Powers interfered and said: Thus far and no farther. And if this is done to an empire, will a little Republic be excused when it misbehaves?’

1877. So the Transvaal was annexed because it was bankrupt, rent asunder by anarchy, and menaced by the Zulus. Amongst the Boers were many who urged the annexation, fearing that if England refused to intervene Germany would do so. Others were moved by political intrigues, hoping to snatch from President Burgers what little influence still remained to him. It is strange to find the name of Paul Kruger among those who desired the annexation and accepted a salaried post under the English administration—though when it was an accomplished fact and the power of England was felt to be supreme he joined with those who appealed to the British Government to revoke the act. But the causes which had led to the annexation still existed, it could not therefore be annulled, and Colonel Owen Lanyon was appointed British Administrator in the Transvaal.

1877. Shortly after the annexation—in March, 1877—Sir Bartle Frere arrived at the Cape and assumed the Governorship. He was a man of high character and great administrative experience, and was sent out by the English Government with a definite mission to bring about the federation of the two South African Republics with the British colonies of the Cape and Natal. The situation had, however, been complicated by the annexation of the Transvaal before his arrival, and, in addition, native affairs were causing considerable anxiety—the Kaffirs and Basutos being in revolt and the

frontiers of Natal and the Transvaal threatened by Cetewayo and his 40,000 warriors. In August, 1877, the ninth Kaffir War broke out, having its origin in a quarrel between the Fingos and a band of Kosas belonging to Kreli's people. The efforts of the police to restore order only fanned the flame, Sandilli and his Kaffirs from across the Kei came to the help of Kreli, and the two chiefs led an attack upon the military camp at Kentani in February, 1878, in which they were defeated. Kreli concluded peace and was granted a small location in Elliotdale, where he spent the rest of his days. Sandilli was killed in battle some months later. For some years afterwards there were occasional risings on the part of the Pandomisi, the Basuto, and the Tembus, but this was the last of the great Kaffir wars.

Meanwhile negotiations were proceeding with Cetewayo, by which the boundary between Zululand and the Transvaal was to be defined. Three Commissioners were appointed for this purpose, and on December 11, 1878, their decision was communicated to the Zulu king. It was greatly in his favour, but was accompanied by an ultimatum from the High Commissioner requiring Cetewayo to disband his army, which was considered a menace to the white people, to make sundry reforms in the government of the Zulus, to protect the missionaries, to make good the outrages committed by his people, and to accept a British Resident in his country.

These were all necessary reforms, but the Zulus were stronger than the white men knew and received the ultimatum in silence, regardless of the fact that an answer had been required within thirty days.

A British force under Lord Chelmsford was sent to enforce the demands, and three British columns advanced

Ninth
Kaffir
War.

1878.
The Zulu
War.

Isandhl-
wana.

into Zululand. The main column crossed the Buffalo River at a point known as Rorke's Drift, and leaving a small detachment to hold the drift and guard the hospital at this point, Lord Chelmsford encamped his men at the hill of Isandhlwana, about ten miles farther east. Early on the morning of January 22, 1879, the General moved about half the troops to some miles away to support a reconnoitre. In his absence the Zulus descended upon the hill of Isandhlwana in overwhelming numbers, and the British troops were massacred—eight hundred white men and five hundred natives—hardly a man escaping to tell the tale.

Rorke's
Drift.

Three thousand Zulus pushed on to Rorke's Drift and attacked the little garrison of eighty sound men, setting fire to the hospital, which was gallantly defended. Behind shelters built of biscuit boxes and grain bags the heroic defenders of the drift held out against the Zulu attack for twelve hours, during which, on six occasions, the Zulus got within the frail fortifications and were repulsed at the bayonet's point. At dawn they drew off, leaving 350 dead, but were preparing for a fresh attack when the remaining portion of Lord Chelmsford's army came in sight, having marched to the rescue from Isandhlwana. Seventeen of the defenders had been killed and ten wounded.

The tragedy of Isandhlwana was marked by the gallant deaths of two young officers of the 24th Regiment, who died in an attempt to save the colours—Lieutenants Melvill and Coghill. With the splendid defence of Rorke's Drift are associated the names of Bromhead, Chard and Dunne, but all bore themselves as heroes.

By this time those in authority had realized that the strength of the Zulus had been greatly under-estimated.

Reinforcements were sent and the tide of war turned, the Zulus being finally defeated at Ulundi by a force under Lord Chelmsford on July 4th. In the following month Cetewayo was captured and sent to Cape Town, and the Zulu menace was at an end—but not its consequences. One of these had been the death of the Prince Imperial of France, who, serving with the English troops, was surprised by a band of Zulus when reconnoitring and killed. Sir Bartle Frere was censured by the British Government, though defended by Lord Beaconsfield, and when Mr. Gladstone's Government came into power in 1880 he was recalled.

Ulundi.

1880.
Recall of
Sir Bartle
Frere.

In defending himself against his critics he said :

‘Few may now agree with my view as to the necessity of the suppression of the Zulu rebellion. Few, I fear, in this generation. But, unless my countrymen are much changed, they will some day do me justice. I shall not leave a name to be permanently dishonoured.’

Meanwhile affairs in the Transvaal were not satisfactory. To the honour of Piet Uys and a small band of burghers, they had come to the assistance of their brother white man during the Zulu War, but a large number of the Transvaal Boers profited by the occasion to agitate for the restoration of the independence which they had exchanged for the protection of England when threatened by Cetewayo two years earlier.

Sir Bartle Frere had visited the Transvaal early in 1879, had listened to complaints of the administration and promised a full inquiry. He had won the respect and confidence of the Boers, and had he not been censured and subsequently recalled it is possible that many of the sorrows which afterwards fell upon South Africa might have been averted by his goodwill and his earnest desire to remove every just cause for complaint.

However, his influence was at an end, and in December, 1879, a meeting of Transvaal Boers was held at Paardekraal near Pretoria, at which it was agreed to revive the republic under the Vierkleur, though the Liberal Government, which had come into power in England, had refused to restore the independence of the Transvaal. The Boers were not unanimous in this matter, many of them being in favour of remaining under British protection; but the republican party was the stronger and had for its leaders Paul Kruger, Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, and Pieter Joubert, who were deputed to carry on the government of the republic.

Bronk-
horst
Spruit.

Small British garrisons were scattered over the Transvaal at this moment and the British residents hastily enrolled themselves, but the war opened with disaster to their arms. On December 20th a portion of the 94th Regiment under Colonel Anstruther, with a long train of wagons and a number of women and children, was proceeding from Lydenberg to Pretoria when they were surprised at a ravine named Bronkhorst Spruit by about 500 Boers who were lying in ambush. Under a flag of truce the latter came forward and demanded a surrender, and on receiving a refusal opened fire, killing and wounding most of the English officers and many of the men. Colonel Anstruther himself was mortally wounded. The men, though taken by surprise, returned the fire, but they were in a bad position and had lost most of their officers. After a short fight the Colonel, seeing his men hopelessly disabled and himself dying, surrendered.

But though this was the first disaster to British troops in this war it was not to be the last. The garrisons in the Transvaal were small and were easily outnumbered and beleaguered by the Boers, who were fine shots and

stalwart fighters, so it was decided to send the troops in Natal to their assistance, under the command of Sir George Colley. On receipt of this news a strong force under Commandant Pieter Joubert was sent to intercept them at Lang's Nek, a narrow pass through the Drakensbergen, commanded by the steep hill of Majuba.

On January 28, 1881, Sir George Colley made an unsuccessful attempt to force his way through the Nek, but being unsuccessful retired on his fortified camp at Mount Prospect, and awaited further reinforcements from England. Eleven days later a patrol of three hundred men under his command came into conflict with a party of Boers on the Ingogo River, where the English side lost heavily, though neither side could claim a decisive victory.

Still greater disaster was in store for Sir George Colley. On the night of February 26th, the reinforcements having arrived, he advanced once more towards the steep mountains, and in the darkness a detachment of troops gained the summit of Majuba Hill, leaving two pickets posted lower down. When dawn broke the position was revealed to Joubert's troops on the Nek below, and musketry fire at long range was opened. It did very little damage to the men on the mountain-top, who, lulled into false security by the apparent ineffectiveness of the fire, did not notice a body of Boers silently scaling the slope in the shelter of stone kopjes, until a fierce volley rang out from a distance of eighty yards. It was a fine example of the clever strategy which has marked South African warfare, from the earliest days to General Botha's successes in German South-West Africa.

1881.
Majuba.

Utterly taken by surprise, the British soldiers broke and swept down the hill, though urged forward by their

Death of
Sir George
Colley.

officers. Panic is a thing which no one can control, and it may demoralize the bravest troops, but for brave General Colley, who fell with his face to the foe, shot through the forehead, one may thank God that he did not live to see the evening of that day, nor its consequences.

The retro-
cession of
the Trans-
vaal.

Mr. Gladstone's Government, which had refused to restore the independence of the Transvaal before the war, now sent orders to Sir Evelyn Wood, who had succeeded General Colley in the command of the British troops, forbidding him to advance ; and on March 22nd, acting on instructions from the British Government, he concluded a treaty of peace with the Boers. Five months later a convention was signed at Pretoria by which the Transvaal was given self-government, subject to British suzerainty over the republic in its dealings with any other country than the Orange Free State, and Paul Kruger was elected President.

CHAPTER XXV

THE NEW INFLUENCES

WHILE events in the Transvaal were shaping the future of South Africa another influence was making its way on the north-western boundary of the Cape Colony, in the country which had hitherto been known as Damaraland.

1882.
Germany
in South-
West
Africa.

It is a country with an area of about 322,450 square miles, and has a native population of Bantu-Negroes and Hottentots, with some Bushmen scattered over the eastern districts. The Hottentots are found here in greater purity of race than in any other part of South Africa, and are divided into various tribes, such as the Witbois, Bondenzwarts, and Swartzbois. The Damara are a Bantu-Negroid people, but speak the same language as the Hottentots; they are called by themselves the 'Herero' or the Merry People. To the north are the Ovampos. The land is rich in minerals and some districts are suitable for stock-farming, but there are sandy deserts between this arable country and the sea.

It will be remembered that when Bartholomeu Diaz made his great journey round the Cape of Good Hope he paused at different points on the west coast of Africa and planted crosses, as a sign that a Christian nation had set its seal upon the land. One of these crosses he planted at Angra Pequena, on the shores of Damaraland, but Portugal took no further steps to establish herself in what must have looked a bare and inhospitable country. In 1805 some German missionaries in the service of the London Missionary Society made

their way into the land, which had recently been ravaged by a Hottentot chief named Afrikander, and in 1820 the mission station of Bethany was established.

For some time after this the country was only visited by stray hunters and a few British and Dutch farmers, some of whom settled there, but in 1867 the guano islands on the coast were annexed by Great Britain. The missionaries begged that the annexation might be extended to the rest of the country, but England contented herself with placing Damaraland within the sphere of British influence and with annexing Walfish Bay in 1878. This was the utmost concession which could be obtained by Sir Bartle Frere, who, foreseeing trouble, had urged that the whole country up to the Portuguese colony of Angola should be placed under British protection. For England was at that time blind to the growing dream of a colonial empire which was taking shape in Germany, and raised no difficulty when in 1882 a German merchant named Lüderitz announced his intention of establishing a trading station at Angra Pequena, with the sanction of Bismarck. Lüderitz lost no time in concluding a treaty with the nearest chief, by which he became the possessor of 215 square miles round Angra Pequena, and in 1884 Germany intimated that the west coast of Africa, from 26° S. latitude to Cape Frio, excepting Walfish Bay, 'had been placed under the protection of the German Emperor'. So, from the Orange River to the Cunene, the foundations were laid of the vast German colony which was to become such a menace to South Africa thirty years later. The eastern boundary was not established until 1890, the line passing through the Kalahari Desert.

Portugal's
ownership

Meanwhile, on the east coast Portugal had made good her ownership of Delagoa Bay. In 1869 the Transvaal

Boers, anxious for a sea-port, had laid claim to the bay. Its south-eastern shore was, however, claimed by Great Britain and the whole by Portugal, and on these two countries agreeing to refer the question of the ownership to the French President, the award was given by Marshal McMahon in favour of Portugal in 1875. It had previously been agreed that, in the event of sale or cession, the unsuccessful claimant should hold the right of pre-emption.

of Delagoa Bay.

So much for the east coast and the west. We now come to a point in South African history in which the man who was to expand British interests to the north into lands beyond the Zambezi, first made his presence felt.

Cecil John Rhodes was born in 1853, the son of a clergyman at Bishop's Stortford in Hertfordshire, and it was his father's intention that he should take Holy Orders. At the age of sixteen, however, his health broke down: he was removed from Bishop's Stortford grammar school and sent to Natal, where his elder brother was farming. This was the year of the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley, and in 1871 we find the boy of eighteen amongst the successful diggers, with his health restored by the good dry air of the veld.

Cecil Rhodes.

It is as absorbing as the tale of Dick Whittington. The world must have seemed to lie at his feet when he determined to return to England and prepare himself for life by entering Oxford as an undergraduate. Before leaving South Africa he gave himself eight months in an ox-wagon, trekking in solitude through Bechuana-land and the Transvaal, reading Marcus Aurelius and Aristotle, dreaming his dreams of the future of the fair land of South Africa as one great self-governing dominion within the British Empire. So he dreamed,

in the silence of the High Veld and lying out under the stars, and to the service of that Empire and of a united South Africa he dedicated his life. A boy of eighteen ! Think of it when you stand by his lonely grave in the



CECIL RHODES

grey sternness of the Matoppo hills and look northward across the

‘great spaces washed with sun’.

In 1873 he was sent back to South Africa from Oxford, his health having broken down again, and again South Africa gave him life. In another three years he was

back at Oxford, though the Long Vacations were spent in the land to which he had given his heart and where his financial interests were growing daily. For the foundations were being laid of the great wealth which throughout his life and in his death he regarded as the means by which his ambitions for South Africa and the Empire might be realized. In 1881 he achieved the consolidation of most of the Kimberley Diamond mines with the De Beers Company, and in the same year he entered South African political life as member for Barkly West in the House of Assembly. This was the year in which Majuba was fought and the Transvaal given back to the Boers. It was also the year in which the Afrikaner Bond came into existence, an organization which stated in its original Programme of Principles that

1881.
The Afri-
kander
Bond
founded.

‘The aim of our national development must be a United South Africa under its own flag’.

On the necessity for union in South Africa Cecil Rhodes held as firm convictions as any member of the Bond, and when under the influence of Mr. Jan Hofmeyr, a member of the Cape Parliament and a far-sighted statesman, the clause ‘under its own flag’ was withdrawn, he worked for a time in unison with Mr. Hofmeyr in endeavouring to bring about a fusion of the great white races of South Africa. It has been said that the policy and not the aims of the Bond were altered, though Mr. Hofmeyr himself realized the wisdom of maintaining the Imperial connexion. An independent South Africa would be, he knew, at the mercy of the first comer—and who that comer would have been the world-war organized by Germany has shown us. There were two ways open to a united country—Imperial and Republican, though how long a republic

Jan Hof-
meyr.

would have lasted is a doubtful point. Cecil Rhodes was firm in his loyalty to the British flag, and ready at the same time to work with all who desired the union of the divided states of South Africa, having for his goal

‘One land
From Lion’s Head to Line.’

The road to the wild territories to the north, the lands which he dreamed would some day be added to the British Empire, lay through Bechuanaland, the country which occupies the centre of a great tableland and lies between the Transvaal and Orange Free State on the east and German South-West Africa on the west. The best-known Bechuana chiefs at this time were Montsioa, chief of the Baralong tribe, and Khama, chief of the Bamaungwato in the north. Earlier in the nineteenth century Bechuanaland had been the scene of much of the work of David Livingstone and Robert Moffat, Sechele, chief of the Bakwena, having been a good friend to the great missionaries.

The border between the Transvaal and Bechuanaland had frequently been crossed by parties of wandering Boers, by whom the small republics of Goshen and Stellaland were set up in native territory, despite the protests of Khama and appeals to the British Government to remove the intruders. On the other side of the country, as we have seen, lay the land which had been annexed by Germany on the Atlantic coast, and Cecil Rhodes, fearing lest the road to the north might be blocked by the Transvaal or Germany, or by both acting together, drew the attention of the British Government to the position. President Kruger said that the marauding commandoes were free-booters and beyond his control. An expedition under Sir Charles

Warren was therefore sent out from England in 1884 to restore order, the commandoes retired to the Transvaal, southern Bechuanaland was proclaimed British territory, and a British Protectorate declared over the northern half up to the twenty-second parallel.

1885.
Bechuana-
land.

The country north of this limit was then known as Matabeleland, and was ruled by Lobengula, son of that fierce warrior Moselekatse, who had fled with his Zulu followers from Chaka, laid waste Bechuanaland, and had finally established himself in the country which is known to-day as Rhodesia. His people were known as the Matabele. Lobengula was an able man and a despot, and his vast territory stood between Cecil Rhodes and the realization of his dream of 'Africa British from the Cape to Cairo'. There were rumours too that Germany and the Transvaal had opened negotiations with Lobengula for a cession of part of his land, while a claim was being put forward by Portugal which extended across the continent.

The land around which these various ambitions hovered was a vast one, extending from the Transvaal to the Zambezi, and from the Portuguese possessions on the east to Bechuanaland on the west. From about the tenth century onward it had been inhabited by a Bantu tribe, the ruler of the land being a hereditary monarch



SOAPSTONE BIRD FROM
GREAT ZIMBABWE

1889.
The
British
Chartered
Company.

known as the Monomotapa. His chief town, called a zimbabwe, was in that part of the country called Mashonaland, and the ruins of this and other zimbabwes have been the subject of much controversy. It was at one time thought, and some still think, that the buildings dated from remote antiquity, but the greater balance of opinion now assigns them to modern times—not earlier than the eleventh century A.D.

Mashonaland enters into modern history with its invasion by Moselekatse after his flight from Chaka. His fierce Matabele warriors, driven north by the Boers, ravaged the Mashona and Makalanga tribes and took possession of the best parts of the country. His capital or principal kraal was established at Buluwayo.

To Cecil Rhodes came the thought of forming a British Chartered Company, a company such as those which had established British rule in India and the dominion of the Netherlands in the Spice Islands of the East. It was to exist for mining and trading purposes and would bring Lobengula's country under the influence of Great Britain. In 1887 emissaries were sent by him to treat with Lobengula, and in October 1889 the charter was granted by the Imperial Government. In many ways Rhodes resembled the great Elizabethans, and in the charter granted by Queen Elizabeth to the East India Company in 1600, a copy of which hangs by his bedroom door at Groote Schuur, we may perhaps trace the inspiration which added Rhodesia to the British Empire.

The region first occupied by the Chartered Company was Mashonaland, it being founded in 1890 by a band of pioneers accompanied by F. C. Selous as guide. The first administrator was Archibald Colquhoun, followed in 1891 by Dr. Jameson. The Mashonas welcomed the white settlers as a protection against their old enemy



the Matabele, but in July, 1893, their hopes were shaken by an incursion of the Matabele warriors, who made their way into the town of Victoria, stabbing their victims in the sight of the white settlers. The Company being unable to extract from Lobengula a promise that the raid would not be repeated, Dr. Jameson determined to march to Lobengula's kraal, though he had but some 1,600 men, European and native, as against the great Matabele army. The loyal Bechuana chief Khama met him with a reinforcement of his men and the first engagement took place on the Shangani River, where the Matabele were defeated.

After a second fight, in which Lobengula's most trusted regiments were swept down by the European guns, the British column marched on to Buluwayo, to find that Lobengula and his followers had fled towards the Zambezi. They were pursued, and on December 3rd a band of thirty-four troopers, under Major Allan Wilson, crossed the Shangani River and bivouacked near the enemy. The river rose during the night and the English reinforcements were unable to cross. When morning dawned the Matabele surrounded Major Wilson's little band of brave men and all were killed save three whom he had sent back with messages.

Lobengula died a month later, and on the submission of his indunas the war ended. Matabeleland was acquired by the Chartered Company, and with Mashonaland received the name of Rhodesia. In 1896 the country was torn asunder by a native rising which was not crushed until the following year, but since that time Rhodesia has made great progress towards justifying the faith which Cecil Rhodes had in the land to which he gave his name and where he is buried. It is still under the Chartered Company.



THE VICTORIA FALLS

Discovery
of gold.

Meanwhile a great event had occurred in the Transvaal. As far back as 1868 gold had been found at Tati, and its discovery had led President Pretorius to claim an extension of his territory to the north and west. In 1883 Moodie's Reef was found, and in the following year the Sheba Mine was opened up and Barberton founded. But in 1886 came the discovery of the gold-fields of the Witwatersrand, the richest gold-mines in the world, and from that moment the prosperity of the Transvaal was assured. The town of Johannesburg was founded and grew as by magic, while from all over the world thousands of people flocked into the country, amongst them many Englishmen. Mining camps and townships sprang up, and the new vigorous population speedily made its presence felt.

Now, in order to understand South African history at this period, we must take our thoughts back to the old voortrekkers who, with their flocks and herds, their wives and children, had journeyed northward and established themselves beyond the Vaal and Orange Rivers. We cannot measure the descendants of these men by the standards of twentieth-century Europe, for many of them belonged more truly to two centuries earlier, having been shut off from the progress of the world and varying little in type from their forefathers of the Great Trek. We must also endeavour to understand the character of the man who dominated them at this important moment of their history.

Paul
Kruger.

Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger was born in the Cape Colony in 1825, his ancestor having been a German named Jacobus Kruger who came to the Cape in 1713. Paul Kruger, as he is usually called, was ten years old at the time of the Great Trek, and journeyed with his parents to the Orange Free State. His education was,

of necessity, confined to learning the bare rudiments of reading and writing, the Bible his only literature; but from his childhood he took his part in the fights with the fierce Matabele who barred the way of the Boers, and he was also a mighty hunter of the great game in which the country abounded. His religious outlook was narrow, and he was a member of the Dopper sect—a narrow and bigoted form of Calvinism—and he was firmly persuaded that he was specially guided by Heaven in all his actions.

When he was fourteen his family crossed the Vaal and were amongst the founders of the Transvaal. At the age of seventeen we find the young man a field-cornet, and ten years later he took the command of an expedition against the Bechuana chief Sechele, the friend of Livingstone to whom reference has been made, and in the fighting that ensued Livingstone's mission station was destroyed.

Kruger took a prominent part in the factions which tore the Transvaal and Orange Free State a few years later, and it will be remembered that he took part with Pretorius in the raid into the latter state, in an attempt to overthrow the government of President Boshof. An effort was made by Pretorius and Kruger to induce the Basutos to join them against the forces of the Free State, but without success. When the Pretorius government fell, in 1871, in consequence of the discontent felt at the Keate award, he was succeeded by President Burgers, a Dutch Reformed minister of education and integrity. A strong faction was, however, opposed to him, and Kruger was one of those most active in undermining the authority of the President. We have seen elsewhere the stern and sorrowful warning which Burgers addressed to his people when

the country was plunged so deeply into anarchy and threatened bankruptcy that the only remedy was its annexation by the British Government in April, 1877.

It will also be remembered that Paul Kruger took service under the new authorities, but he continued to agitate for the retrocession of the country to the Boers, seeing his opportunity in the downfall of President Burgers. In 1880 his chance came, when the Transvaal was given back, and it was Paul Kruger with Joubert and Pretorius who negotiated the terms of the Pretoria Convention. In 1883 he was elected President of the Transvaal. In the same year he visited England, and the London Convention, of which we shall hear more later on, was drafted. This document, while making some concessions, still reserved for Great Britain the power of veto over treaties concluded by the Transvaal with any power other than the Orange Free State. For the next three years the affairs of the Transvaal gradually drifted once more towards bankruptcy, but it was suddenly and dramatically rescued from this peril by the discovery of the gold-mines and the access of wealth which followed.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE UITLANDERS AND THE JAMESON RAID 1882—1899

WE have seen how, in a moment, the fortunes of the Transvaal were changed, so that a land which had been all but bankrupt suddenly found itself the magnet which drew to its gold-mines men of all classes. To President Kruger and those who thought with him, the presence of strangers in the country was a thing not to be looked upon with favour, and they speedily set to work to alter the franchise laws laid down by the Conventions, so that the new-comers should have little opportunity of becoming burghers of the Republic. It was a clash of ideals, as well as of interests, and we must remember this if we are to understand South Africa and read her history in no partisan spirit, but with sympathy and comprehension.

The
Uitland-
ers.

President Kruger could never regard new-comers as having any right to a share in the government of the country. His ideals of South Africa were narrowly bound up with the Boer, and he could not understand or tolerate the idea of a South African nationality in which people could freely be allowed to share whose language, customs, and outlook were foreign to those of the voortrekkers.

It will be remembered that when the British Government gave the Transvaal independence in internal affairs, by the Pretoria Convention of 1881, it retained British suzerainty over the country—which meant that in matters touching dealings with other

countries the Republic was under the jurisdiction of Great Britain. Further, it had been agreed that all 'actual and potential British residents in the Transvaal should be entitled to the rights of citizenship after a residence of two years'. In 1882 the Transvaal Govern-

The
franchise.



PRESIDENT KRUGER

ment raised the necessary period of residence to five years, and in 1890 enacted that qualifications for the full franchise should be raised to ten years.

Meanwhile the productive gold-fields of the Rand, Barberton, and other districts had drawn great numbers of Englishmen to the Transvaal, and the new-comers

Uitlanders and the Jameson Raid 277

bought from the Boers land and farms which had increased so marvellously in value that the old burghers must have felt as though they had come into the possession of Aladdin's lamp. Wealth poured into the Transvaal's Treasury, much of it being derived from the sale of concessions and monopolies—and of these the dynamite monopoly pressed very severely upon the mining industry.

In 1884 the concession of all rights to make railways had been acquired by a number of German and Hollander capitalists, and the Netherlands Railway Company was formed. Much of the gold exported was carried by this Company's railway to Delagoa Bay for shipment, and President Kruger—anxious to see the entire trade of the Transvaal carried by this route and not over the Natal and Cape Railways—refused to enter a Customs Union with Natal, the Cape Colony, and the Orange Free State, though Sir John Brand, the wise President of the latter republic, had arranged that the railway from the Cape should be carried through the Free State to the Transvaal border. By the Delagoa Bay railway the Transvaal gained access to the Portuguese port by a line which, except for the last fifty-five miles, ran entirely through its own territory, and which gave not only the shortest and cheapest route to the sea from Pretoria and Johannesburg, but promised to make the Transvaal independent as regards its sea-borne traffic of the ports and railways of the British colonies of the Cape and Natal.

Considerable irritation soon became felt by the Uitlanders—the name given by the Boers to the newcomers—at the restrictions and monopolies which pressed hard on the gold industry, and at the franchise laws which practically made it impossible for those who

The
Nether-
lands
Railway
Company.

were now paying the greater share of the taxes to have any voice in public affairs. The discontent grew, and in 1890, as we have seen, in refusing a request for greater consideration, the franchise qualification was raised from five years to ten.

We must remember that President Kruger's point of view was in every way the opposite of that of the Uitlanders. It is, however, impossible in a book of this scope to enter into much discussion or criticism of the Kruger policy or that of the Uitlanders—we can only note facts.

1892.
The
Transvaal
National
Union.

In 1892 the Uitlanders formed themselves into the Transvaal National Union, which asked for equal rights for all citizens of the state and for the abolition of monopolies. They pointed out that they did not desire to infringe the independence of the Transvaal, but considered that a more liberal policy than had hitherto been followed would only place that independence on a more secure and certain basis. The movement was not attended with success. To a deputation of seven delegates from the National Union the President said:

‘Go back and tell your people that I shall never give them anything. I shall never change my policy.’

As if to give emphasis to his refusal, a law was passed in 1894 by which no new-comer could obtain the franchise until he had been fourteen years in the Transvaal. In the following year over 34,000 persons signed a memorial praying for an extension of the franchise, but the request was again refused.

At this time and through the years which followed President Kruger was sustained by hope of support from Germany in the event of any conflict with England. That Germany would not hesitate to break her word and prove untrue to the confidence reposed in her we now know, but it is clear that the President

believed that she would prove a staunch friend to the Transvaal in case of need, and that many of his actions were influenced by this belief.

In 1895 occurred what has been called the Closing of the Drifts episode. The Netherlands Company Railway to Delagoa Bay being completed, the President made a strong effort to establish that port as practically the only point of entry for goods, by putting a prohibitive tariff on anything coming across the Vaal River, forty miles from Johannesburg, at the terminus of the Cape-Free State Railway. The rates on the forty miles of railway through the Transvaal, between the drift or ford and the Rand were raised enormously. To avert the consequences of this action the Johannesburg merchants established a service of ox-wagons, which received the goods from the Cape-Free State Railway and brought them through the drifts and on to Johannesburg at low rates. The President retaliated by proclaiming the drifts closed. As the meeting-place between the two railway systems had been declared to be the middle of the river this decree meant that the merchants might bring their goods half-way across the Vaal by ox-wagon, but could not land them on the northern bank nor bring them on to the Rand. The Cape and the Orange Free State resented this action, which was felt to be an unfriendly one on the part of the Transvaal, and Mr. Jan Hofmeyr gave expression to the disapproval of the Cape in a series of newspaper articles. The Cape Ministry referred the matter to the Imperial Government, on the ground that the closing of the drifts was a breach of the London Convention, and an ultimatum was dispatched to President Kruger from England. The result was the withdrawal of the proclamation which had declared the drifts closed.

1895.
The closing of the drifts.

The irritation felt by the Cape and Transvaal towards this attempt to close the door of the Transvaal to goods carried over their railways was felt with equal force by the merchants of Johannesburg. Even more powerful was the resentment, now roused almost to breaking point, on the part of the Uitlanders who desired the franchise in a country where they were paying the bulk of the taxes. Sir John Brand, the President of the Orange Free State, had wisely counselled Paul Kruger to make friends with the leaders of the great mining industry which had raised the Transvaal from bankruptcy to wealth and prosperity, but his advice had not been taken. How far President Kruger was Germany, acting in accord with Germany it is difficult to say, but in June, 1894, Lord Loch, then Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner, had been the bearer of a dispatch from the British Government to the President, urging the grant of a five years' qualification for the franchise. At the last moment, when he was actually in Pretoria, Lord Loch's instructions to present the dispatch were cancelled by a cable message from England—on the ground that the German ambassador in London had represented that its presentation would be regarded by Germany as an interference with the *status quo*, and therefore detrimental to her interests in South Africa. At a banquet in honour of the Kaiser's birthday, given by the German Club a few months later, President Kruger spoke of Germany as a power that would prevent England from 'kicking' the republic. German intrigue was one of the important elements in the difficult situation, and this must not be forgotten in considering the events which followed.

In 1896 Cecil Rhodes was the Premier of the Cape Colony. He was at that time a friend of Jan Hofmeyr,

and had done much to carry out his desire to see the union of the English and Dutch in South Africa. He was also the controller of the British South Africa Company of Rhodesia, the De Beers Consolidated Diamond



DR. JAMESON

Mines and the Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa. The Uitlanders, persuaded that England was blind to the danger which threatened the interests of the Empire six thousand miles away, and that nothing but dramatic action would open her eyes, appealed to Rhodes to give his assistance to the Reform Movement which was inaugurated to bring about an improvement in the

1896.
The
Jameson
Raid.

franchise. The sequence of this movement, as is well known, was the Jameson Raid. The Reform Committee was to raise a revolt. Dr. Jameson and an armed force of the Chartered Company were to ride in to their assistance. Lord Rosmead (the High Commissioner) was to be asked to proceed to Johannesburg and draw the President's attention to the necessity for conceding the Uitlanders' demand for the franchise. The attention of England would thus be drawn to the state of affairs in the Transvaal.

That was the programme organized by the leaders of the Reform Movement, when it was found that all attempts to induce the President to give the franchise had failed. In effect, the Reform Movement collapsed, owing to a division in their ranks as to which flag was ultimately to be hoisted in the country—Cecil Rhodes desiring to see the Transvaal federated with the rest of South Africa under the British flag, others of the Reformers wishing to retain the republican form of government.

The rising was therefore postponed, but Dr. Jameson, not knowing of the collapse, started from the border with his men. A message from the Reform Committee and a telegram from Mr. Rhodes reached him on the way, telling him to go back. After consideration, however, he decided to set aside these messages and ride on—only to be met at Doornkop by the forces of President Kruger in superior numbers, under Commandant Piet Cronje, and after a short fight Dr. Jameson surrendered on finding that he and his men were surrounded.

The members of the Reform Committee were arrested and four of them—George Farrar, Lionel Phillips, Frank Rhodes, and J. Hays Hammond—were tried on

a charge of high treason and sentenced to death, the sentence being commuted after several months imprisonment to a fine of £25,000 each. The other members of the Committee were fined and released from prison on their undertaking to refrain from politics for three years—Karri Davies and Woolls Sampson, who refused to give this undertaking, being detained in prison for more than a year. Dr. Jameson and his men were handed over to the English Government, tried before a special tribunal composed of Chief Justice Lord Russell and two other judges, and were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment.

Cecil Rhodes, called to give evidence before the House of Commons Select Committee, stated that he had been 'greatly influenced' by the belief that President Kruger was prepared to introduce another foreign power into South African affairs. In support of this we must note the telegram sent by the German Emperor on January 3, 1896, congratulating President Kruger on the defeat of Dr. Jameson, 'without appealing to the help of friendly powers'. One direct result of these events was the resignation by Cecil Rhodes of the Cape premiership and his transference of interest to the great territory in the north which bears his name.

The
Kaiser.

So ended the movement for franchise reform in the Transvaal, with disaster to all who took part in it—as was inevitable in the circumstances—but with England's attention drawn at least to the position of her sons in the state over which she still claimed suzerainty.

For the moment, however, she was in no position to help them. The High Commissioner Lord Rosmead had gone direct to Pretoria on receiving news of the Raid, but he was in feeble health and confronted with a position full of difficulties. Mr. Chamberlain, then

Secretary of State for the Colonies, had sent him a telegram urging him to use his efforts to obtain some measure of franchise reform, but Lord Rosmead had replied that the time was inopportune. As a fact, the Raid had been illegal and the hands of the Imperial officials were therefore tied, while President Kruger at this moment requested the withdrawal of the London Convention, on the ground that it was 'injurious to the dignity of an independent republic'. As its withdrawal would have meant the removal of British suzerainty over the Transvaal the British Government refused to consider the request, and from that time the position of the Uitlanders became increasingly difficult, while the dynamite monopoly continued to press heavily on the mining industry.

Relations between England and the Transvaal were further strained by the enactment of the Aliens Immigration and Expulsion Laws, which threatened the free right of entry to British subjects which had been secured by the London Convention, and Mr. Chamberlain's demand for their repeal was only granted when backed by the presence of a British squadron in Delagoa Bay and the strengthening of the South African garrison.

1897.
Lord
Milner
arrives.

In April 1897, while the matter of these laws was still under discussion, Lord Rosmead's successor, Lord Milner (then Sir Alfred Milner) sailed for the Cape. His appointment was hailed with satisfaction by men of all parties, as he was considered the man best fitted to deal with the intricate problems of South Africa. The first year of his administration was given to the study of these problems, and to learning Dutch, so that he might the more readily enter into the minds of all sections of the people. A short period of apparent calm had succeeded the withdrawal of the Aliens Laws,

and he took advantage of this lull to travel through the Cape Colony, Rhodesia, Basutoland, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

The calm was only apparent. In the Transvaal was



LORD MILNER

seething discontent on the part of a large portion of the population—on the part of the President a determination to continue in his policy of exclusion. There were, moreover, many sympathizers with him in the Cape Colony, and an offensive and defensive alliance had been concluded by the Transvaal with the Orange

Free State, where President Steyn was now in office, having succeeded President Reitz.

In March 1899 the Uitlanders sent a petition to the Queen, signed by 21,000 British subjects, stating that the position in the Transvaal had become intolerable. This was followed by a telegram from Lord Milner, declaring that the case for intervention was overwhelming, and comparing the position of the Uitlanders to that of the Helots in ancient Sparta.

1899.
Bloem-
fontein
Confer-
ence.

On May 31st a Conference was opened at Bloemfontein, between President Kruger and Lord Milner, at which the question of the franchise was discussed. Lord Milner asked for a five years franchise law. In its place the President offered a seven years franchise, but coupled this offer with conditions, of which one was that in future all disagreements which might arise between the Imperial Government and the Transvaal should be settled by an arbitration court, of which the president should be a foreigner. On June 5th Lord Milner declared the Conference closed, no agreement having been attained. Meanwhile, throughout South Africa meetings were being held in the large towns at which it was agreed that no solution of the difficulty was possible which did not provide equal political rights for all white men.

In reporting the failure of the Conference to the British Government, of which Lord Salisbury was Premier, Lord Milner urged upon the authorities the necessity for strengthening the South African garrison, in view of the strained situation and the enormous armaments which the Transvaal had acquired; but considerable hesitation was displayed before even a small number of the troops asked for was dispatched. The British Government still clung to the hope that an appeal to

force might be averted, and was reluctant to take any step which might give the impression that all hope of a peaceful solution had been given up. So few troops were sent, in fact, that when war actually broke out the British forces were at a great disadvantage. In this the Government acted against the advice of Lord Wolseley, the Commander-in-Chief, who had formed a correct idea of the powerful armaments of the Transvaal, as well as of the courage, tenacity, and splendid fighting qualities of the Boers, who were amongst the finest marksmen in the world.

If England was unready the Transvaal was prepared. It was encouraged by numbers of people in the Cape Colony, and the President believed firmly that aid would come from Holland and Germany. Jan Hofmeyr, Lord de Villiers, and other far-sighted men did their utmost to induce the President to grant a reasonable measure of reform before it should be too late, but without effect. On October 9, 1899, an ultimatum was presented by the Transvaal to Mr. Conyngham Green, the British Resident in Pretoria, demanding the withdrawal of all British troops on the Transvaal border; that all reinforcements which had arrived since June 1, 1899, should be sent out of the country; and that 'Her Majesty's troops now on the high seas shall not be landed in any part of South Africa'. An answer to these demands was required within forty-eight hours.

The ultimatum.

Such an ultimatum was, under the circumstances, War. equivalent to a declaration of war, and at the end of the forty-eight hours it was announced that a state of war existed between Her Majesty's Government and the two Boer Republics.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE WAR. 1899-1902

1899. Boer attack on armoured train. ON the 12th of October, 1899, the first shot of the war was fired, the Boer forces attacking an armoured train at Kraaipan, a station in the Cape Colony south of Mafeking. For two years and a half from that date South Africa was immersed in a strife which was almost a civil war, for many of the Dutch in the Cape Colony remained firm to their allegiance to the British flag, while others sympathized openly with the Transvaal.

As we have seen, Great Britain was unprepared, the Imperial Government, in its desire to avoid war, having delayed sending the reinforcements for which Lord Milner had asked after the failure of the Bloemfontein Conference. In the Transvaal, on the contrary, those months had been employed in strengthening the position and in bringing in large supplies of arms and ammunition, while M. Léon of the Creusot Works and several foreign military officers had arrived.

At the last moment, on September the 8th, the British Government decided to send out the troops for which the High Commissioner had asked, but these were on the water when the ultimatum was dispatched, and until they could arrive only a few thousand Imperial troops were at his disposal. With the co-operation of General Forestier-Walker small bodies of men had been posted at points of danger on the railways, half of the Loyal North Lancashire Regiment had been sent to garrison Kimberley under Colonel Kekewich, and the other half to guard the railway bridge over the Orange

River. In Natal the British troops were under the command of Lieut.-General Sir George White, and by the prompt action of the Indian military authorities they were augmented on October 8th by a force from India. When the Transvaal's ultimatum was delivered on October 9th there were just, and only just, enough Imperial troops in South Africa to hold the Orange River on the south of the Republics and the Natal border on the east, and prevent the Boer forces from sweeping down on Cape Town or Durban before reinforcements could arrive from England, which was not until November 9th. At the moment that war was declared there were only 22,000 British troops in South Africa, while the greater part of the promised army corps was still in England.

On October 14th Kimberley was cut off, and on October 12th Mafeking, where Colonel Baden-Powell was in command, was invested by a Transvaal commando under General Cronje. At first, however, the main activities of the Boers were directed against Natal, where Sir George White was commander-in-chief, with Ladysmith as the British head-quarters. Two forces of the Boers moved simultaneously. One of these, under General Lucas Meyer, met a small British detachment under Penn Symons at Talana Hill, and in the fight that followed the Boers were driven back, but Symons was mortally wounded and 226 officers and men killed or wounded. The British Brigade then retired on Ladysmith.

Kimberley and Mafeking invested.

Talana Hill.

The other Boer detachment had meanwhile occupied the railway line between Talana Hill and Ladysmith, and a force sent by Sir George White, under the command of Colonel (now Field-Marshal Lord) French, with Ian Hamilton under him, to dislodge them and clear the

Elands-
laagte.

Nichol-
son's Nek.

Lady-
smith be-
sieged.

way for the retirement of Penn Symons's brigade, met them at Elandslaagte and forced them to retire. This was on October 21st, but on the following day forces from the Free State advanced and French withdrew his men towards Ladysmith, the action of Rietfontein being fought to cover their retreat. Before the Boer forces could unite, General White attempted to break up the line at Lombards Kop, but without success and with a loss of 1,500 men, of whom a large number were cut off at Nicholson's Nek by a combined Transvaal and Free State force under General Christian de Wet. French succeeded in making his way through and got away to Cape Town, but by November 1st almost the whole of the British forces in Natal were surrounded and besieged in Ladysmith by the Boers under General Joubert.

The original plan of the War Office had been to divide the British troops into two sections, one of which should safeguard the Cape Colony and Natal, while the other should invade the two Republics. But the absence of that preparation which Lord Milner had urged on the British Government had given the Boer forces a great advantage in the opening days of the war, and the first units of the army corps under General Sir Redvers Buller which landed on November 9th were at once sent to the relief of the besieged troops in Ladysmith. In the south Lord Methuen was in command of 8,000 men sent to the relief of Kimberley, where Cecil Rhodes was.

Rebellion
in the
Cape
Colony.

Rebellion had broken out in the eastern districts of the Cape Colony, and troops were needed to meet this new difficulty, and to strengthen the small forces which were holding the railway line to the south of the Orange Free State. All organization had to be carried through in a hurry, for, as General Buller phrased it, Great

Britain was in the position of 'a man who, with a long day's work before him, had overslept himself, and so was late for everything all day'.

Lord Methuen's forces on their way to Kimberley met with resistance at Belmont and again at Enslin, but succeeded in driving back the Boers. On the Modder River, however, they encountered a Boer force under Generals de la Rey and P. A. Cronje in a fight in which General Methuen himself was wounded, with a loss of 485 men killed and wounded. For the moment there was no course open to him but to camp on the banks of the Modder and await reinforcements.

Meanwhile General Gatacre had been sent with troops to guard the Stormberg district of the Cape Colony. On December 10th he met with disaster, being misled by guides while attempting a night march in order to surprise the Boers, and was forced to retire with a loss of 719 men.

On December 11th Lord Methuen attacked General Cronje's position near Magersfontein, but without success and with heavy losses—particularly to the Highland Brigade, at whose head General Wauchope fell. A few days later General Buller made the first effort to relieve Ladysmith. Marching from Chieveley, he encountered the Boer forces under General Louis Botha on December 15th at Colenso on the Tugela River, and in the battle that followed the British troops suffered a serious reverse, ten guns being lost and 1,100 men. In despair General Buller suggested to General White that the beleaguered garrison should surrender, but the suggestion was met by a flat refusal.

By this time the British public had awakened to the gravity of the task before the Imperial forces, and to realization of the fact that in the troops of the two

Republics England had met a well-equipped and courageous opponent with magnificent fighting qualities, unrivalled powers of endurance, and intimate knowledge of the country. We need only recall the names of Joubert, Botha, de la Rey, Cronje, Smuts, and de Wet to



GENERAL SMUTS

realize how splendidly these men were led. In addition to the mobilization of all available Imperial troops large Volunteer contingents and the newly organized Imperial Yeomanry were sent out, while from every part of the British Empire---India, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, down to the smallest isles of the sea---came help in

men and horses. Field-Marshal Lord Roberts was appointed to the supreme command, and with him came as chief of staff Lord Kitchener.

The new reinforcements could not reach Cape Town until January, 1900, and meanwhile the three beleaguered towns—Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking—held their own, but the relief columns available at the moment were not strong enough to free them. On January 6th the Boers made an attempt to take Ladysmith, but were repulsed at Caesar's Camp and Waggon Hill with heavy losses. By this time, however, the besieged garrison was much enfeebled by sickness and privation, though holding out gallantly.

Caesar's
Camp.

In the Cape Colony General French succeeded in keeping back the forces of de la Rey and de Wet from sweeping on the south of the colony. Kimberley and Mafeking were still invested. This was the position when Lord Roberts landed at Cape Town on January 10th. While he was maturing his plans before moving northward General Buller, now assisted by Sir Charles Warren and a new division of troops, made another attempt to cross the Tugela and relieve Ladysmith, but met with a reverse at Spion Kop on January 24th, and the British troops retired after several days fighting, having lost 1,700 men. On February 5th another fruitless attempt was made, and on February 14th General Buller began his fourth advance. This, in its turn, was checked, but the fifth attempt was successful, Ladysmith and its brave garrison being relieved on February 28th. The Boer invaders now fell back to the north of Natal.

In the
Cape
Colony.

Arrival of
Lord
Roberts.

Spion
Kop.

Lady-
smith re-
lieved.

Meanwhile Lord Roberts had concentrated the southern army between the Modder River and the Orange. On February 15th Kimberley was relieved, and on February 29th was fought the battle of Paarde-

Relief of
Kimber-
ley.

Paarde-
berg.

berg, which resulted in the surrender of General Cronje with 4,000 Boers.

The six weeks which followed the arrival of Lord Roberts and his reinforcements had changed the aspect of the war. The disasters which had overtaken the British troops at the beginning might possibly have been avoided had the urgent advice of Lord Milner to the Imperial authorities, backed by the counsels of Lord Wolseley, been regarded and timely preparations made to meet the grave situation. Now that the British Government was awake to the urgency of the matter it spared neither men nor equipment, while from the self-governing states of the Empire came thirty thousand men, and South Africa itself contributed a force of between 50,000 and 60,000. British India sent volunteers and the native rulers horses. There was also a Naval Brigade.

Bloem-
fontein
occupied.

The army moved steadily forward, and Bloemfontein was occupied on March 13th. A pause followed, necessitated by the success of General de Wet in cutting off the transport convoy. This delay was marked by short rations and a bad outbreak of enteric. At this moment too de Wet was successful at Sannah's Post, captured a detachment at Reddersburg, and succeeded in surrounding a force under Colonel Dalgety at Wepener, which was, however, relieved ten days later by General Hunter.

Sannah's
Post.

Death of
General
Joubert.

On March 28th the Boers suffered a great loss in the death of their gallant and chivalrous Commandant-General, brave General Joubert. On May 1st the British army again moved on. Kroonstad was entered on May 12th, the Orange Free State was annexed by England on May 24th, on the 27th Johannesburg was occupied, and on June 5, 1900, the British flag was

hoisted over the Raadzaal at Pretoria. On May 17th Mafeking had been relieved, after a siege of seven months. These successes of the British army were followed by the defeat of Generals Botha, de la Rey, and Kemp at Diamond Hill, and of Prinsloo, who was captured with 4,000 Free Staters at Brandwater. On August 27th General Botha's troops were again defeated, at Dalmanutha, and on September 1, 1900, the Transvaal was annexed. President Kruger escaped from the Transvaal to Lorenzo Marques, sailing in October for Holland. Lord Roberts left for England, and Lord Kitchener took up the office of Commander-in-Chief.

Relief of
Mafeking.

The
Transvaal
annexed.

But for all this the war was not over.

A long period of guerrilla warfare followed, in which great dexterity and daring were shown by the Boers, while in the Cape Colony rebellion had broken out again.

Guerrilla
warfare.

In July, 1901, Lord Kitchener instituted the block-house system, by which chains of block-houses were placed at intervals of a mile, sometimes less, along the railways, thus enabling the British troops to hold the long lines over which food supplies were carried for the civil and military populations, and for the inhabitants of the Concentration Camps.

The block-
house
system.

These camps were formed by Lord Kitchener early in 1901, when he determined to sweep the scene of operation clear of inhabitants, stock, and forage, as a military measure. It was clear that the women and children could not be left unprotected on farms, and camps were formed in different parts of the country in which non-combatants could be placed for safety. Hardship and suffering are inseparable from war, and often fall most heavily on those least fitted to bear them. Many of the Boer women and children arrived at the camps worn

Concen-
tration
Camps.

out by privations and fatigue ; provisions were scarce at first, owing to the constant attacks made on the trains ; epidemic diseases were brought in by some of the refugees and had to be fought under conditions of the greatest difficulty, many lives being lost in spite of the efforts of doctors and nurses. But the position of these poor people would have been far worse if they had remained on their lonely farms, in a country swept by war, entirely unprotected from wandering natives.

An unexpected effect of these camps was to prolong the war, for the Boers, being relieved of the responsibility for their women and children, were free to carry on their brilliant guerrilla tactics. How their leaders regarded the camps at the time may be gathered from some of their speeches. Speaking at Vereeniging in the debate between the Boer generals which preceded peace in the following year, General Louis Botha said :

‘One is only too thankful nowadays to know that our wives are under English protection.’

General de Wet, at the same meeting, in advocating the continuance of the war, said :

‘I think we might meet the emergency in this way. A part of the men should be told off to lay down their arms for the sake of the women, and then they could take the women with them to the English in the towns.’

Schools
in the
Camps.

At the close of 1900 Lord Milner had asked Mr. E. B. Sargant to organize the reconstruction of education in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, most of the schools having been swept away by the war. His first efforts were made in the Concentration Camps, where schools were opened ; and the children came to them in such numbers that at the close of the war 30,000 children were being educated in the two new colonies.

For more than eighteen months after the official

annexation of the republics the able guerrilla tactics of the Boer leaders and the mobility of their troops kept the war alive. In the beginning of 1902 Lord Kitchener devised a system known as 'the drives'. The country was divided into large sections, each of which was steadily swept by British troops. At first success was hindered by various reverses, in one of which Lord Methuen was captured by de la Rey, but in the end the system proved effective and the Boers, realizing the uselessness of prolonging the struggle, opened negotiations with the British leader through Acting-President Schalk Burger. A conference of the Transvaal and Orange Free State leaders was held, followed by a meeting at Pretoria on April 12th, between Lord Milner and Lord Kitchener on the one side and Presidents Steyn and Schalk Burger, Generals Botha, de Wet, and de la Rey on the other. No final agreement was arrived at, however, until after a meeting at Vereeniging, where sixty representatives of the Boers assembled in May and appointed a special Commission to treat for peace. On May 19th this Commission met Lord Milner and Lord Kitchener at Pretoria and, as a result of the Vereeniging Conference, articles of peace were signed on May 31, 1902.

The
'drives'.

Peace
negotia-
tions.

Confer-
ence at
Vereeni-
ging.

Peace.

Two months earlier had passed away the 'immense and brooding spirit' of Cecil John Rhodes. Like Moses, he had stood upon the threshold of the Promised Land—of that Union of South Africa of which he had dreamed but which he was never to see, save in a vision and afar off. His will is a testimony to his greatness of soul and breadth of outlook, providing in perpetuity for the education at Oxford of 175 scholars, to be drawn from the British Dominions beyond the seas—from America, to encourage 'an attachment to the country

Death of
Cecil
Rhodes.

His will.

from which they have sprung', and from Germany. For the latter he gave as a reason 'that an understanding between the three Great Powers will render war impossible, and that educational relations make the strongest tie'. Generations yet to come will see the character of Cecil Rhodes in its true perspective and will realize that the great things in it can never die.

CHAPTER XXVIII

PEACE AND THE RECONSTRUCTION

1902-1907

THE terms of peace were, briefly, as follows :

Terms of
peace.

1. The burgher forces in the field to lay down their arms, handing over all guns, rifles and munitions of war, and desisting from all further resistance to the King's authority. The manner of surrender to be arranged between Lord Kitchener and Generals Botha, de la Rey, and de Wet.

2. All burghers outside the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony (as the Orange Free State was now to be called) and all prisoners of war to be repatriated on declaring themselves subjects of His Majesty King Edward VII.

3. No burghers who should surrender to be deprived of their liberty or property.

4. No proceedings to be taken against burghers for any legitimate acts of war during hostilities.

5. Dutch to be taught in public schools of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, if parents requested it, and its use to be permitted in courts of law where necessary.

6. The possession of rifles to be allowed to persons requiring them for protection, upon the taking out of licences.

7. Civil government to take the place of the military administration as soon as possible, and representative institutions, leading up to self-government, to be introduced.

8. The question of granting the franchise to the natives not to be decided upon until after the grant of self-government.

9. No special war tax to be levied on landed property.

10. A Commission to be appointed in each district of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to assist in the restoration of the people to their homes and farms, and to help them with food, shelter, seed, stock, and implements. A grant of £3,000,000 to be given by His Majesty's Government as compensation for war losses. Advances on loan for the same purpose to be made, free of interest for two years and afterwards, repayable over a period of several years with 3 per cent. interest. No foreigner or rebel to be entitled to this benefit.

These were the terms of peace submitted to the Boer delegates at Vereeniging and agreed to by them, after much discussion. The document was drawn up by Lord Milner and Sir Richard Solomon (Legal Adviser to the new Transvaal Administration), in consultation with General Smuts (ex-State Attorney of the Transvaal) and General Hertzog (late Judge of the High Court of the Orange Free State).

So June 1, 1902, dawned upon a South Africa at peace, after a war which had lasted for more than two years and a half and had left the interior of the land a desert which only a wise and far-sighted administration could nurse back to order and prosperity. The war had shown that the British Empire was animated by one spirit. It now remained to set in order the new colonies, so that peace and justice, religion and piety, might be established for all generations.

The re-
construc-
tion.

In March of the previous year the civil administration had been organized, six months after Lord Roberts's proclamation annexing the Transvaal. A Supreme

Court had been established, with Sir James Rose-Innes as Chief Justice. Departments dealing with finance and the mining industry had been organized and a Commission appointed to inquire into the concessions granted by the late Government. A Town Council had been appointed for Johannesburg, some of the mines had re-started crushing, and many of the Uitlanders had returned. A Land Board had been established—it being hoped to further the union of the two races by placing English settlers in the neighbourhood of Dutch farmers, and by their means to introduce more progressive methods of farming than had hitherto been known to the Boers. An extensive irrigation system was contemplated, and Sir William Willcocks—a distinguished official of the Egyptian Irrigation Department—had been engaged to make a survey and draw up a scheme. In various other ways, by the time that the articles of peace were signed, much had been done to put the country on a sound and prosperous footing.

On June 21, 1902, Lord Milner became Governor of the Transvaal and an Executive Council was created, the two new colonies being governed for the time being on Crown Colony lines. In January 1903, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, visited South Africa and made an agreement with the great mining houses by which a loan of £10,000,000, guaranteed by them, was to be paid into the British Exchequer as a first instalment of the Transvaal's contribution to the war. Two further loans were to be raised later, bringing the amount of the contribution up to £30,000,000, but, owing to the financial depression in South Africa which followed the war, Great Britain remitted her claim to these.

A further agreement was made that the Imperial Government should guarantee a loan of £35,000,000,

to be expended for the benefit of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony. Out of this the debt of the South African Republic was paid off, the railways were bought by the State, and a large sum spent on public works, repatriation, and compensation. This was in addition to the £3,000,000 granted by Articles of Peace.

Chinese
labour.

The commercial inflation which had followed the war was succeeded by a period of intense depression throughout South Africa, one of the immediate causes being a shortage of native labour on the mines. The mining houses, in consequence, asked for leave to import Chinese labourers, to enable them to work the mines at their full capacity, and to this the British Government gave its consent, hoping that the experiment might succeed in averting the financial disaster which threatened the country. Fifty thousand Chinese were therefore brought over on a three-years' indenture during the years 1904 to 1906, under the arrangement that they should return to China when their indentures had expired. The output from the mines was greatly increased in consequence, and with it the prosperity of South Africa.

Opinions differed, however, as to the desirability of introducing Chinese labourers, and on the grant of self-government in December 1906 the new Transvaal Government decided not to import any more and gradually to repatriate those then in South Africa. The conditions of the labour market had improved, and it had become possible to recruit sufficient labourers for the mines in the province of Mozambique. It is interesting to remember that two centuries and a half earlier van Riebeeck had impressed upon the Dutch East India Company the desirability of importing Chinese or some other industrious people. As we have noticed before,

Peace and the Reconstruction 303

South African history has an odd knack of repeating itself at unexpected moments.

It was in the European autumn of 1904 that the old President of the Transvaal died at Clarens in Switzerland, at the age of seventy-nine. The character of Paul Kruger and the causes which combined to form that character must be understood if we are to grasp the causes which contributed to the war. Had General Joubert succeeded in establishing his claim to the Presidency in 1893, when the result of the voting was, at the least, doubtful, it is possible that the history of South Africa might have been a different one, for he was a man of liberal outlook. President Kruger, on the other hand, was unable to realize the existence of any point of view but his own.

Death of
ex-President
Kruger.

‘This is my country. These are my laws. Those who do not like to obey my laws can leave my country,’ he had said to the Uitlanders.

Again and again we find his policy in conflict with that of Jan Hofmeyr, President Burgers, Sir John Brand, General Joubert, and other enlightened South Africans, to whom the unity of the country was above all questions of party or policy. But he had powerful, rugged qualities of mind which would have made him a fine leader of men had he been able to look beyond the limits of his own State to the great South Africa, built of various races and creeds and opinions, which the years were to bring forth.

We must now trace the events which led to the grant of self-government to the new colonies. It has been seen that the reorganization after the war had been begun by Lord Milner, by whom the departments of justice, education, and agriculture were placed upon a new and wide basis, and by July 1904 the work of

reconstruction had advanced so far that the High Commissioner, in-concert with Mr. Alfred Lyttelton (who had succeeded Mr. Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary), felt that the time was ripe for that grant of representative government to the Transvaal which was to lead eventually to self-government, as laid down in Clause 7 of the Articles of Peace.

The
Lyttelton
Constitu-
tion.

In March 1905 the Lyttelton Constitution, as it is called, was issued. It provided for a Legislative Council, to consist of from six to nine official members, and from thirty to thirty-five elected members. Equal rights were secured for both sections of the population. With the grant of representative government Lord Milner's strenuous work in South Africa came to an end. He retired in April 1905 and was succeeded as High Commissioner and Governor of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony by Lord Selborne.

Retire-
ment of
Lord
Milner.
Lord
Selborne.

Before, however, the Lyttelton Constitution could be put into effect there was a change of government in England, the Liberals coming into power, with Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as Premier. This was in December 1906. The new leader held a view which was unfavourable to representative government, and determined to grant full self-government to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, without the preliminary step of representative government which, in the opinion of the previous Ministry, would have given the land time to recover from the disruption and bitterness which had followed on the war. This was particularly the case in the Orange River Colony, but in both of the old republics the work of reconstruction had reached a stage in which tranquillity was necessary for a time, in order to fit them to deal wisely with the gift of full government when they should be ready for it. It

Self-
govern-
ment.

would not have been delayed for long. That, at least, had been the view of the Salisbury Government. The new Government, however, held a different view, and full self-government under British sovereignty was therefore granted in December 1906. Two months later, the elections which were held in the Transvaal gave the Boer party—then known as *Het Volk*—a majority of seven in a House of Assembly composed of sixty-nine members. General Botha was the first Premier of the Transvaal, with General Smuts as Colonial Secretary. In the Orange River Colony the elections were held in November 1907. The new House of Assembly was composed of thirty-eight members, of whom twenty-nine belonged to the Boer or *Orangie Unie* party, with Mr. Abraham Fischer as Premier and Generals Hertzog and de Wet members of the Government.



GROOTE SCHUUR

CHAPTER XXIX

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

WHILE these events had been in progress in the northern colonies Dr. Jameson, who had returned to political life some years earlier, had been Premier of the Progressive Government in the Cape Colony. During his administration considerable progress had been made towards that united South Africa of which his friend Cecil Rhodes had dreamed—Mr. Jan Hofmeyr had also worked for this end for many years, each after his own fashion—‘the welding together of all British South Africa under a system of either Federation or Unification’, as Rhodes had put it. His beautiful house of Groote Schuur near Cape Town had been left in his will as the residence of the Premier of united South Africa, when the day should dawn.

Progress
towards
Union.

On November 28, 1906, the first formal steps were taken by Dr. Jameson, as Premier of the Cape Colony. In a minute of that date the Cape Government expressed its belief that the acute differences which divided the four South African colonies on questions of Customs, Railway Control, Mining, Agriculture, the Native Question, and many other sources of friction could only be solved ‘by some duly constituted South African authority responsible to all parties in the country. The Cape Government appealed to Lord Selborne as High Commissioner, to present the question in such a manner that the people of South Africa might be in a position to see it in its true light and form a clear judgment on the matter.’

The first
step.

Behind these dry, precise terms lie the germs of the great and living union which has drawn the once-sundered states into a nation.

Lord
Selborne.

Lord Selborne's memorandum showed admirable insight. He pointed out the danger of several isolated governments pursuing rival interests in a land which should have one common interest. 'The people of South Africa', he said, 'are not self-governing in respect to South African affairs, for they have no South African Government with which to govern.' There could be no national life as long as the country was divided into separate administrations working on different systems.

Jan
Hofmeyr.

In a speech at Wellington on May 1, 1907, Mr. Hofmeyr spoke with eloquence on the need for union in order that such evil things as racialism, prejudice, and internal strife might die out of the land and a new South Africa arise, a fair and solid structure within the British Empire. For, he said :

'I am firmly convinced of it that we have a real and actual interest in the maintenance of the British Empire, and of the British Sea Power as the means thereto.'

Dr. Jameson, grasping the hand of fellowship, made a speech a few days later, in which he spoke of

'A greater British nationality, but also with it a South African nationality, and that is echoed by Mr. Hofmeyr in his speech. There is no reason why the two great parties in this country should not settle down and bring about the natural realization of that South African Nationality in a federated South Africa, which will be part of the British Empire.'

Inter-
Colonial
Confer-
ence.

At the beginning of 1908 Mr. Merriman succeeded Dr. Jameson as Premier of the Cape Colony, and on May 4th an Inter-Colonial Conference met at Pretoria



310 History of South Africa

to consider the difficult problems of Customs and Railway rates between the four South African colonies. Temporary agreements on these points had been patched up at other conferences, but these had frequently broken down when the interests of one colony seemed to be in



GENERAL BOTHA

danger, and matters had now practically reached a deadlock.

On May 4, 1909, therefore, the representatives of the four colonies met once more in council, and after two days' deliberation General Botha moved a series of resolutions, of which the pith is contained in the first :

‘That in the opinion of this Conference, the best interests and the permanent prosperity of South Africa can only be secured by an early Union, under the Crown of Great Britain, of the several self-governing Colonies.’

The resolutions were seconded by the Premier of the Cape, and it was agreed that a Convention, consisting of delegates from the four colonies, should be held, to consider the most desirable form of South African Union and to prepare a draft Constitution.

This great task was entrusted to a National Convention, which met first in Durban, on October 12, 1908, and sat afterwards in Cape Town. All the members were agreed that Union was desirable, but on the question of whether it should take the form of Federation or Unification opinion was divided, Natal favouring Federation. The most important members of this convention were Sir Henry (afterwards Baron) de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape Colony, who presided, ex-President Steyn, Dr. Jameson, Mr. Merriman, Generals Botha, Smuts, de Wet and de la Rey, Sir George Farrar, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, Messrs. Schalk Burger and Fischer, and General Hertzog.

The
National
Conven-
tion.

The draft Constitution was published on February 9, 1909. It provided for Unification of the four colonies under one Government, and, with a few alterations, was accepted. It was agreed that there should be a dual capital—the delegates being unable to agree on a choice between Cape Town, the Mother City of South Africa, and Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal. An agreement was therefore made that Cape Town should be the seat of the Legislature, and Pretoria the seat of Administration. Bloemfontein was chosen as the seat of the Judiciary, and the Orange River

The Con-
stitution.

312 History of South Africa

Colony was to revert to its old name of the Orange Free State.

The Act
of Union.

On September 20, 1909, the South Africa Act passed through the Imperial Parliament and received the Royal Assent—the 31st of May, 1910, being settled as the date for the actual establishment of the Union of South Africa.

Death of
Mr. Hof-
meyr.

Amongst the delegates who carried the draft Act to England was Mr. Jan Hofmeyr, and a month after it had become law he passed away, to join those others who had also 'loved and served South Africa', but who, unlike him, had not lived to see the work of Union carried to its completion.

The first
Governor-
General.

The choice of the British Government for the first Governor-General of the Union of South Africa fell upon Mr. Herbert Gladstone, a member of the Liberal Government then in power, who was created Viscount Gladstone of Lanark before sailing to take up the responsible task of summoning the first Premier and Parliament of the new Union. The Premier chosen was General Louis Botha, who has so wisely and honourably maintained the confidence reposed in him by his King, and by the people of South Africa, and whose work is binding together 'a commonwealth which shall add to and not draw upon the strength of the Empire, a commonwealth which in culture as in power should be among the foremost nations of the world'.¹

General
Botha as
Premier.

.

We leave South Africa standing upon the threshold of her new life, young among the great sister-nations of the Empire, wise with the sorrows of her past, in her eyes the light of hope. What will her future be?

¹ Sir Matthew Nathan, Governor of Natal, at the opening of the National Conference.

INDEX

A

Active, the, 101.
 Albany, 188.
 Albuquerque, 23.
 Algoa Bay, 19.
 Almeida, F. d', 23.
Ameerspoort, the, 39.
 American Revolution, 95.
 Amiens, Treaty of, 142.
 Anreith, A., 85, 106.
 Anti-convict agitation, 237.
 Appel, F., 69.
 Architecture, 59.
 Armed neutrality, 98.
 Arms granted to Cape Town, 149.
 Assenburgh, L. van, 57, 69.
 Austria, 107.

B

Baalen, Captain van, 124.
 Baden-Powell, Lt.-Col., 289.
 Baird, Sir D., 153, 163.
 Bantu, 9, 11.
 Barnard, A., 134, 165.
 Barnard, Lady Anne, 134, 140.
 Barrow, Sir J., 135.
 Basuto, 11.
 Basutoland, 209, 249.
 Basuto Wars, 240, 249.
 Batavia, 44.
 Batavian Republic, 123.
 Bathurst, 188.
 Bax, J., 43.
 Bechuanas, 11.
 Bechuanaland, 266.
 Bek, Minister, 51.

Belmont, 291.
 Beresford, Gen., 156.
 Berg River, 39.
 Bergh, O., 57.
 Bethelsdorp, 168.
 Bezuidenhout, F., 179.
 Bird, C., 165.
Birkenhead, the, 241.
 Blaauwberg, battle of, 156.
 Blesius, J., 60.
 Blockhouses, 295.
 Bloemfontein, 232, 294, 311.
 Bloemfontein Conference, 286.
 Blokland, B. van, 162.
 Blood River, 225.
 Boers, W. C., 95, 97.
 Boomplaats, 231.
 Borghorst, J., 43.
 Boschberg, 92, 178.
 Boscheuval, 39.
 Boshof, J. N., 246.
 Botha, Gen. Louis, 291, 296, 297, 305, 312.
 Boucq, F. le, 67.
 Bourke, Maj.-Gen., 190, 195.
 Brand, C., 127.
 Brand, Sir John, 277, 280, 303.
 Bressler, F., 132.
 Breugel, A. van, 43.
 Bronkhorst Spruit, 258.
 Brownlee, Rev. J., 192, 239.
 Brintjes Hoogte, 92.
Bubalis baini, 2.
 Buller, Gen., 290, 291.
 Burgers, Pres., 253, 303.
 Burgher cavalry, 125.
 Burgher Senate, 196.
 Burgher Watch House, 84, 149.

Burger, Schalk, 297, 311.
 Bushmen, 7, 8, 9, 91, 133.
 Buys, Conrad du, 136.
 Byl, G. van der, 46.

C

Caille, Abbe de la, 83.
 Caledon, Earl of, 165.
 Camoens, 24.
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry, 304.
 Campo, A. do, 71.
 Cape of Good Hope, 21.
 Cape Town, 1, 2, 61, 76, 86, 149, 311.
 Capitulation of the Cape :
 First, 125.
 Second, 158.
 Carboniferous Age, 1.
 Carnarvon, Earl of, 252.
 Castle, the, 41.
 Cathcart, Sir G., 242.
 Cession of the Cape, 176.
 Cetewayo, 252.
 Chaka, 213.
 Chamberlain, J., 283, 301, 304.
 Chartered Company, 267.
 Chavonnes, D. de, 49, 71, 200.
 M. de, 70.
 Chelmsford, 257.
 Chinese labour, 302.
 Circuit Court, 174.
 Clanwilliam, 176.
 Clarke, Gen., 125.
 Cloete, J. G., 122.
 Col., 229.
 Coetzee, D., 108.
 Cogul, 8.
 Cole, Sir G. L., 197.
 Colenso, 291.
 Colesberg, 197.
 Colley, Sir G., 259.
 Collins, Col., 165.
 Commando system, 91.
 Concentration camps, 295.
 Constantia, Groot, 57.
 Council of Policy, 43, 57.
 Court of Commissioners, 57.

Cronje, Gen., 289, 291, 294.
 Cungwa, 167.
 Cuyler, J. G., 162, 167, 175, 180.

D

Damaraland, 261.
 Damme, H. ten, 77.
 Delagoa Bay, 71, 277, 279.
 Dessin, N. van, 86.
 Diamonds, 249.
 Dingaen, 223.
 Donkin, Sir R., 185.
 Doppers, 247.
 Drake, Sir F., 24.
 Drakenstein, 58.
 Drifts, the, 279.
 Drives, the, 297.
 Dundas, Maj.-Gen., 136, 138.
 Durban, 217, 218.
 D'Urban, Sir B., 199.

E

East India Company :
 The English, 26.
 The Dutch, 28, 30, 31, 66, 73, 129.
 Edict of Nantes, 48.
 Education, 150.
 Elandslaagte, 290.
 Elberts, H., 46.
 Elphinstone, Sir J. K., 119, 132.
 Elsenberg, 84.
 Elsevier, S., 60, 67.
 Enslin, 291.
 Eva, 40.

F

Fairbairn, J., 193.
 Farewell, F. C., 216.
 Farrar, Sir George, 282, 311.
 Federation, 247, 252.
 Fingoes, 215.
 Fischer, A., 305, 311.
 Fitzherbert, H., 29.
 Fontaine, J. de la, 72.
 Fort Cox, 240.

Fort Frederick, 147.
 Fort Good Hope, 37.
 France, war with, 117.
 French Company, 28.
 French Hoek, 51.
 French, Lord, 289, 293.
 French Revolution, 117.
 Frere, Sir B., 252, 254.
 Frikenius, S. H., 112.
 Frontier, the, 114, 172, 182.
 Furniture, 76.

G

Gabbema, A., 39.
 Gaika, 138, 145, 166.
 Galekas, 201.
 Gama, Vasco da, 21.
 Garden, Company's, 37, 55, 60.
 Gatacre, Gen., 291.
 George, 170.
 German influence, 261, 280.
 Glacial epoch, 1.
 Gladstone, Lord, 312.
 Glenelg, Lord, 203, 227, 228.
 Gold discovered, 272.
Golden Hind, the, 24.
 Gordon, Colonel, 99, 119, 127.
 Goske, I., 41, 43.
 Graaff, C. van de, 106, 111.
 Graaff Reinet, 108, 111, 115, 118, 131, 136.
 Graham, Colonel, 171.
 Grahamstown, 173, 183.
 Great Fish River, 92.
 Great Trek, 205.
 Greig, G., 193.
 Grey, Lt.-Col. H., 165.
 X Grey, Sir G., 243, 247.
 Griqualand East, 209.
 West, 208, 251.
 Griquas, 208.
 Groot Constantia. *See* Constantia.
 Groote Kerk, 60.
 Groote Schuur, 39, 268, 307.
Grosvenor, the, 103.
 Guest House, 53.

H

Haarlem, the, 32.
 Hackius, P., 43.
 Harry, 40.
 Hatshepsut, 15.
 Heemraad, 46.
 Heems, G., 144.
 Heerengracht, 44.
Held Woltemaade, the, 101, 104.
 Helena, St., 30.
 Helot, W., 69.
 Hemel en Aarde, 192.
 Henry the Navigator, Prince, 16.
 Herodotus, 15.
Héros, the, 101.
 Hertzog, Gen., 300, 305, 311.
 Heughel, D. van der, 74.
 Hints, 166, 201.
 Hoffman, J. H., 233.
 Hofmeyr, J., 265, 279, 303, 307, 308, 312.
 Holtshausen, J., 103.
 Hottentots, 8, 10 39, 145, 240.
 Hout Bay, 41, 100.
 Houtman, C., 26.
 Huguenots, 47, 49, 51.
 Huysing, H., 46, 63, 64.

I

Imhoff, W. van, 79, 82.
 India, route to, 17.
 Inter-Colonial Conference, 308.
 Iron Age, 4.
 Isandhlwana, 256.

J

Jaarsveld, A. van, 93, 103, 110, 118, 136.
 Jacobins, 129.
 Jameson, Dr., 268, 282 307, 311.
 Jameson Raid, 282.
 Janssen, Leendert, 32.
 Janssens, Lt.-Gen., 143, 160.
 Johannesburg, 277, 279, 282, 294, 301.

Johnstone, Commodore, 100,
102.
Jonge, Thomas, 104.
Joubert, General, 290, 294, 303.
Jourdain, John, 29.
Justice, High Court of, 57.

K

Kaffirs, 12, 133, 245.
Kaffir Wars :
 First, 103.
 Second, 115.
 Third, 137.
 Fourth, 171.
 Fifth, 185.
 Sixth, 200.
 Seventh, 210.
 Eighth, 238.
 Ninth, 255.
Kaffirland, 185, 205.
Kaffraria, 237.
Kalden, P., 67.
Karoo, 1.
Keate award, 250.
Kei River, 202.
Keiskama River, 185, 202.
Kimberley, 289, 291, 293.
King, Dick, 229.
King William's Town, 202.
Kirstenbosch, 45.
Kitchener, Lord, 293, 295, 297.
Kok, Adam, 208.
Korannas, 10.
Kosa (Amakosa), 11.
Kowie River, 188.
Kruger, J., 93.
Kruger, Paul, 247, 272, 275, 295,
 303.

L

Labyrinthodonts, 2.
Ladysmith, 290, 293.
Lancaster, James, 26.
Lanyon, Sir O., 254.
Library, South African, 178.
Lille, Col. de, 124.
Linschoten, 26.

Loch, Lord, 280.
London Convention, 274, 279,
 284.
London Missionary Society,
 142.
Louis XIV, 53.
Lutherans, 78, 85.
Lyttelton, Alfred, 304.

M

Macartney, Lord, 134.
Madagascar, 30.
Madagascar, King of, 60.
Madeira, 18.
Mafeking, 289, 295.
Magersfontein, 291.
Maitland, Sir P., 209, 231.
Majuba, 259.
Makana, 182, 184, 238.
Makoma, 198, 238.
Malays, 56, 147.
Mamre, 170.
Man, R., 57.
Mankadan, Dominie, 46.
Maritz, G., 221.
Marnitz, Lieut., 124.
Mashonaland, 268.
Matabele, 215, 268.
Mauritius, 43, 68, 170.
Maynier, Secretary, 116, 139.
Meerlust, 68, 158.
Melck, M., 84.
Melville, Lord, 134.
Merriman, J. X., 308.
Methuen, Lord, 290, 291, 297.
Meuron Regiment, 125.
Meyer, Lucas, 289.
Meyring, A. M., 78.
Middleton, Sir Hugh, 30.
Militia, 99.
Milner, Lord, 284, 288, 290, 294,
 296, 300, 301, 303, 304.
Mist, J. de, 143.
Modder River, 291, 293.
Moravians, 79.
Morgenster, 123.
Moselekatse, 214.
Moshesh, 209, 240.

Mozambique, 30.
 Muizenberg, 123.
 Mulder, J., 57.
 Museum, South African, 178.
 Mydrecht, Lord of, 53.

N

Namaqualand, 58.
 Namaquas, 10.
 Napier, Sir G., 227.
 Napoleon, 147.
 Natal, 22, 59, 212, 229.
 National Assembly, 119, 123.
 National Battalion, 124.
 National Convention, 311.
 Nationalists, 136.
 Ndhambi, 138, 145, 167, 183.
 Nederburgh, S. C., 112.
 Neolithic Age, 4, 7.
 Netherlands Railway, 97, 277, 279.
 Nicholson's Nek, 290.
 Nongkause, 245.
 Noodt, P., 72.

O

Orange Free State, 231, 233, 274, 277, 280, 304, 305, 312.
 Orange, Prince of, 97, 106, 111, 117.
 Orange River, 59.
 Ordinance No. 50, 196.
 Oudtshoorn, W. F. van, 118.
 Ova-Herero, 12.
 Ovampo, 12.

P

Paardeberg, 293.
 Paarl, 39.
 Palaeolithic Age, 4.
 Panda, 227.
 Pandours, 122.
 Papagaaiberg, 47.
 Paper currency, 130.
 Patriots, the, 107, 114.
 Pharaoh Necho, 16.

Philip, Dr., 197, 203.
 Pietermaritzburg, 226, 230.
 Pisani, 123.
 Plessis, D. du, 125.
 Plessis, Sieur du, 50.
 Plettenberg Bay, 94.
 Plettenberg Beacon, 145.
 Plettenberg, J. van, 87, 106.
 Pundos, 209.
 Popham, Sir H., 153.
 Port Elizabeth, 186.
 Portugal, 17, 25.
 Potchefstroom, 225, 230.
 Potgieter, H., 221.
 Pottinger, Sir H., 211.
 Pracht en Praal, 85.
 Prehistoric man, 5.
 Press, liberty of, 193.
 Prestor John, 18.
 Pretoria, 297, 311.
 Pretoria Convention, 274, 275.
 Pretorius, A., 225, 232, 272.
 Prince Imperial, 257.
 Pringle, T., 193.
 Prinsloo, M., 132.
 Prinsloo, W., 94, 103.
 Proot, N., 32.
 Prophalow, Count van, 156.
 Punt, 15.

Q

Quatrefages, M. de, 7.
 Queen Adelaide Province, 202.
 Quesne, H. du, 49.
 Quit-rent, 175.

R

Reconstruction, 300.
 Reenen, J. van, 103.
 Reform Committee, 282.
 Reformation, the, 47.
 Responsible government, 251.
 Retief, P., 222, 223.
 Retrocession, 260.
 Rex, Mr. George, 168.
 Rey, Gen. de la, 291, 297, 311.

Rhenius, J., 90, 112.
 Rhodes, C. J., 263, 268, 280, 297, 307.
Ridderschap, the, 44, 61.
 Riebeeck, J. van, 35.
 Riet Vlei, 158.
 Robben Island, 41.
 Roberts, Lord, 293, 294, 295, 300.
 Roe, Sir T., 29.
 Rogge Bay, 107.
 Roodezand, 62.
 Rorke's Drift, 256.
 Rose-Innes, Mr. J., 193.
 Rose-Innes, Sir J., 301.
 Rosmead, Lord, 282, 283.
 Rustenberg, 126.
 Ryneveld, W. van, 126, 162.

S

Saint-Pierre, B. de, 83.
 Saldanha, Ant. de, 22.
 Saldanha Bay, 19, 45, 100, 154.
 Sandilli, 210, 238.
 Sannah's Post, 294.
 Savoie, J. de, 50.
 Schmidt, G., 11, 79.
 Selborne, Lord, 304, 307, 308.
 Settlers, the (1820), 187.
 Seventeen, the, 32.
 Shepstone, Sir T., 253.
 Shillinge, A., 29.
 Simond, P., 50.
 Simonstown, 81.
 Six, J. J., 44.
 Slachter's Nek, 78.
 Slaves, 39, 56, 70, 199.
 Sluyskin, A., 118.
 Small-pox, 70, 84.
 Smith, Sir H., 201, 236, 241.
 Smuts, Gen., 300, 305, 311.
 Somerset East, 178.
 Somerset, Lord C., 177, 190.
 South African Republic, 246.
 Sparrman, A., 86.
 Spilbergen, J. van, 22, 26.
 Spion Kop, 293.

Stadtholder. *See* Orange, Prince of.
 Stamp duty, 113.
 States-General, 28, 126.
 Stel, S. van der, 43, 59.
 Stel, W. A. van der, 44, 60, 65.
 Stellenbosch, 45, 68.
 Steyn, H., 119, 131.
 Steyn, Pres., 286, 297, 311.
 Stockenstroom, A., 166, 173, 204, 210.
 Stone Age, 4.
 Stormberg, 291.
 Sueur, Rev. F. le, 75.
 Sueur, Lt.-Col. F. le, 147.
 Suffren, Adm., 100.
 Supreme Court, 196.
 Swazis, 11.
 Swellendam, 90, 119, 131.
 Swellengrebel, 75, 82.
 Symons, Penn, 289.

T

Table Bay, 22.
 Tachard, Père, 53.
 Talana Hill, 289.
 Tas, A., 64.
 Tembus, 11.
 Thibault, L., 105.
 Tonga (Ama), 11.
 Transvaal, 225, 253, 274, 275, 296.
 Treaty States, 208, 230.
 Trek-Boers, 90.
 Trieckard, 221.
 Tugela River, 291.
 Tulbagh, 78.
 Tulbagh, R., 82, 87.

U

Uitenhage, 149.
 Uitlanders, 275, 277, 286, 300.
 Ultimatum, the, 287.
 Ulundi, 257.
 Union, Act of, 311, 312.
 Uys, D., 225.

V

Vaillant, le, 102.
 Valkenier, W., 62.
 Vanderkemp, Dr., 145, 168,
 175.
 Vaudois, 49.
 Venice, 17.
 Vereeniging, 297, 300.
 Vergelegen, 63.
 Villiers, A. de, 51.
 Villiers, Lord de, 287, 311.
 Voortrekkers, 221.

W

Wagenaar, Z., 41.
 Waldeck Regiment, 157.
 War of the Axe, 210.
 Warden, Major, 231.
 Warren, Sir Charles, 293.
 Waterboer, 208.
 Wauchope, Gen., 291.
 Waveren, Land of, 62, 78.

Weenen, 224.
 Wet, Gen. de, 290, 294, 296, 297,
 305, 311.
 Wet, O. G. de, 93, 144, 162.
 White, Sir G., 289, 291.
 Willshire, Fort, 185, 201.
 Winburg, 222.
 Wodehouse, Sir P., 249.
 Woecke, H., 108, 115.
 Woltemaade, 104.
 Worcester, 190.

Y

Yonge, Sir G., 140.
 Yussuf, Sheikh, 56.

Z

Zand River Conference, 231.
 Zulu War, 252, 255.
 Zulus, 213.
 Zuurveld, 115, 180, 187.
 Zwaartkopjes, 231.
 Zwartland, 78.



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